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B. R. SEN

Freedom from Hunger

From time immemorial mankind has been exposed to the threat of hunger and starvation. In ancient times the threat arose as much from the harshness of nature and natural calamities as from man's ignorance and improvidence. The search for food has been the cause of mass migrations, wars and social upheavals. In more recent times, hunger has been recognized as a concomitant of poverty. Wherever there is poverty, there is hunger. And today there is a lot of poverty in the world. One does not have to seek the aid of statistics to discover the widespread poverty that exists in many parts of the world. It is visible to the naked eye; one merely has to walk these parts of the world with one's eyes open.

2. During the past two decades, great upheavals have swept the world, as much in the political and social fields as in the scientific and technological spheres. They have contributed to a ferment of ideas and aspirations that has fundamentally altered our vision of the future. Since the end of World War II, 800 million people in various parts of the world have won their independence. Many more millions will achieve their freedom this year and next year. This is a major revolution of our time, because nearly one-third of the human race, within a span of fifteen years, have become masters of their own destiny, not, as one cynic has said, in order to starve, but to secure a life of dignity and freedom from the misery and degradation of poverty. The same aspiration motivates the efforts of another one-third of humanity, who, despite political sovereignty, have not succeeded so far in solving the problem of want.

3. This progress has been assisted by scientific developments, specially in the field of communications, which have broken

the barriers of distance and have brought the world closer together at a pace never experienced before. The spoken word, carried on the waves of ether, reaches beyond the walls of illiteracy, and no community, however remote physically, need be isolated today from the rest of the world in the matter of knowing what is happening elsewhere. One outstanding consequence of modern mass communication methods has been the realization by the less developed countries that poverty is not an act of Providence and that it can be remedied. They have come to know how, through the adoption of scientific techniques, appropriate economic and social policies, and through adequate organization and utilization of their naturel and human resources, many countries have achieved outstanding economic prosperity and social welfare. This knowledge has made them aware of the challenge as well as the opportunities that lie ahead.

4. Alongside these developments, a new humanism, which seeks to establish a world order based on human rights and social justice, has taken firm root in the more prosperous communities. They are coming forward increasingly to share their prosperity and skills with those less fortunate than themselves. The United Nations, the Specialized Agencies like FAO and other international organizations are the symbols of this new humanism.

5. It is true that today we see the goals more clearly, but we also know that they are not yet within our grasp. In spite of all the national and international efforts devoted during the last fifteen years to the task of removing want, the progress has been pitifully slow. It has been estimated, on the basis of such data as are available, that two-thirds of the world's population still suffer from varying degrees of undernourishment. They live in the so-called less developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The average *per caput* annual income in these countries is $ 120 (1957), as against $ 800 in the industrially advanced countries. In the United States it is $ 2,000. Statistical averages cannot convey the real contrast in living standards, but they do in some measure indicate the gap.

6. This contrast is reflected also in the production and con-

sumption of food in the richer and poorer countries. The experience, for instance, of the United States has shown what scientific and rational methods of agriculture can achieve. An acre that yielded an average of 14.5 bushels of wheat in 1937-41, yielded 27 bushels in 1958. In other words, yield per acre has nearly doubled in 20 years. As a result, the United States today produces more and more wheat on less and less soil. Substantial increases in agricultural production have also been achieved in other industrially advanced countries of Western Europe. On the other hand, in the less developed countries, the rate of growth is very much smaller; in fact, in many countries production has not yet reached *per caput* pre-war levels. As a result, millions of people in these countries are still unable to obtain food such as would enable them to lead a healthy and vigorous life.

7. The present population of the world is about 3,000 million, and it has been estimated that if the present rate of growth is maintained, the world would have a population of more or less 6,000 million by the end of the century. It stands to reason, therefore, that, even in order to maintain the present inadequate levels of nutrition in the poorer countries, food production will have to be doubled in the next 40 years. Many believe that, with proper organization, the earth could support several times its present population. On the other side, Malthusian apprehensions have again gained currency. Obviously, there can be no final verdict today on these speculations, because there are too many imponderables that would influence the situation one way or the other, but there seems little doubt that for the next few decades the rates of recent population growth will continue, and may even accelerate.

8. Many are pessimistic as to the capacity of the underdeveloped countries to climb out of primary poverty. They point to the apparently meagre mineral resources of many of those countries, the eroded lands and unfriendly climates, the rapidly expanding population on territory already overcrowded, the absence and impossibility of saving on a scale to provide the capital required, the hopelessness of finding enough exports to pay for needed imports for equipment for industry, and many

more equally convincing arguments. It may, however, be pertinent to enquire what the outlook was in Europe 200 years ago when she started pulling herself up by her bootstraps. Could it not be said then that her peoples were too poor to save on any massive scale, that her agriculture could not be made more fruitful and her peoples would not adapt to factory tasks and urban ways of life ? And yet the revolution took place. Is the plight of the underdeveloped countries today any worse than that of Europe in 1750 ?

9. True, there are no vast prairie lands in temperate zones waiting to be ploughed, nor are there empty spaces into which to move surplus population on a massive scale. But Europe had gone far down the road to industrialization before she had much recourse to importing food and exporting people. Today, agriculture has other tools for increasing production without having to rely on new acres by the million. Also the newer forms of power for industry — oil and, still more, atomic energy — mean that industry can be located where the people are, not vice versa. Moreover, there are nations standing by who have already modernized themselves and who can lend their skills and experience for the job.

10. All these things give solid ground for believing that during the next decades there could happen in the remaining two-thirds of the world what hitherto has happened in only one-third — a revolution in modes and standards of living, social patterns, arts and skills, culture and thought. If this be a fair assessment, it is just about the most exciting prospect that mankind has ever faced. By comparison, most of our other preoccupations appear puny indeed; cold war, colour prejudice, religious intolerance, and so on. What is almost within human grasp is nothing less than the abolition of primary poverty in the last strongholds of poverty, the bringing of the low income peoples, not to equality of income with the wealthiest peoples, but to within hailing distance, so that there is no longer a wide social and material gap between them.

11. There is general consensus that the basic approach to a frontal attack on the circle of poverty and undernourishment is balanced economic development. But such development it-

self is a complex phenomenon. It embraces questions relating to the application of scientific techniques, to economic arrangements, and to adjustment of social institutions. They are all inter-related and cannot be isolated from one another. Yet the long-term answer to the problem of hunger must be sought in a generally expanding economy with the right balance in each country between the various economic sectors. This would involve wider use of scientific methods, more purposeful reorientation of investment resources and the breaking of institutional bottlenecks that impede progress in many countries.

12. While the ultimate solution to the problem of poverty must be sought in an integrated approach to balanced development of underdeveloped countries, it should be recognized that agriculture is the key sector in such development. 60 to 80 percent of the people of underdeveloped countries derive their livelihood from the land. Agriculture must provide food for the people and the margin to start a process of capital formation. It is essential, therefore, that the initial impulse to increased production and improved well-being is generated in this sector.

13. The world food situation thus raises a series of questions. How can the farmers of less developed countries be taught the new methods of agriculture ? how well are these methods adapted to tropical conditions ? what are the significant gaps in our knowledge and what new research is needed ? what changes should be made in the traditional patterns of land tenure, of farm credit, of marketing in the less developed countries to create favourable economic and social conditions for agricultural development ? how can all this be done in time to avoid the potentially tragic consequences of a growth of population that may outrun food supplies ?

14. The Freedom from Hunger Campaign, which was proposed by me about two years ago at the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and was adopted by the FAO Conference at its Tenth Session in November 1959, seeks to find realistic answers to these questions and to promote national and international action for putting them into effect. It is clear that nothing short of an agricultural revolution in the less developed countries can bring about the changes needed for promoting

self-sustained growth. How is this agricultural revolution to be organized and financed ? I think our best hope lies in a concerted effort on a world-wide basis in which not only the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, but also national governments, non-governmental organizations, religious bodies, foundations, citizen groups and men and women of goodwill everywhere would participate and to which they would contribute their moral and material support. The Freedom from Hunger Campaign has been designed to serve as the focal point for such an endeavour.

15. The Campaign is not intended to replace any programs at present under way for the improvement of food supplies and better nutrition. It is intended to supplement and reinforce programs which governments and international agencies are already carrying out, to create a better climate of opinion in which these programs will work with greater effectiveness. It is intended to awaken the people of underfed countries to the real possibilities for improving their lot and to encourage them to greater effort. It is entended to inform people in prosperous countries about the condition of people less fortunate than themselves and to enlist their support for measures aimed at improving the situation. And it is intended to help increase our knowledge of present conditions and of methods of improving them. In other words, the Campaign is conceived in a spirit of rededication to the objectives of FAO, and intensification of efforts towards their achievement.

16. The activities of the Campaign will fall mainly under three broad categories: (1) information and education, (2) research, and (3) action programs. The information and educational programs would include studies and investigations directed towards securing and disseminating better information. What needs to be done to combat hunger and malnutrition, what are the technical and economic possibilities of increasing production and improving distribution, and how the problems of hunger and malnutrition can actually be tackled by the utilization of technical and economic knowledge and resources now available. These studies will be prepared, individually and cooperatively, by the international agencies in their respective

fields of competence, and will be supplemented by national studies prepared by individual governments and national organizations. Such information will help the world-wide effort to awaken interest in the various approaches to the solution of the problem. FAO will publish the third World Food Survey and prepare background studies on a variety of subjects which lie at the root of production, distribution and nutritional problems. Some of these studies will be undertaken in collaboration with the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the general framework of such collaboration has already been under discussion with our sister agencies. We shall count also on the major non-governmental organizations, national and international, to conduct a vast educational effort using these studies as background information for their discussions and meetings during the campaign period. These studies will be most valuable to the National Campaign Committees in developing programs highlighting special deficiencies and requirements of their respective countries. They will also serve as guides to those who mould public opinion through mass communication media.

17. Research programs will be so planned that they could assist in the selection and execution of action programs. These will be concerned with economic, social and technical problems of agricultural development, with special emphasis on increasing productivity in agriculture, forestry and fisheries. Governments, public and private research agencies and universities will be invited to participate in these programs. Much of the research work under the Campaign will be conducted by Member Governments and directed to the solution of local problems, but, in order to avoid overlapping and wastage of effort, it will be necessary to integrate national research programs into regional projects on such problems as crop diseases, insect pests, soil and climatic conditions, which cut across national boundaries.

18. It is our hope that the educational and research activities will create sufficient enthusiasm for sponsoring and financing national action programs in the underdeveloped countries. We attach the greatest importance to the proper selection and exe-

cution of action projects, which alone can provide increased production, improved distribution, and, ultimately, can free the world from hunger. Most of the projects will relate to increasing food production, improvements in nutritive quality, prevention of food losses, increased effectiveness in distribution or in stimulating better food habits and consumption, as also to associated social, economic and institutional questions. A compendium of specimen action projects is now under preparation, and will soon be available for distribution. The individual countries will be free to decide which projects to take up under the Campaign from, or outside, the list drawn up by FAO. Big schemes, such as flood control through river valley development, to which some countries may give high priority but which they are unable to implement for lack of funds, could also be taken up under this Campaign if the prospects of finding the necessary resources under the impetus of the Campaign were assured.

19. To make its leadership of the Campaign effective, FAO will have to assume the responsibility for giving general and technical guidance to bilateral programs of governments, non-governmental associations and church groups, where such assistance is asked for. In some countries, religious groups are raising funds for assisting this Campaign, or for similar purposes. Some of these groups would prefer undertaking direct responsibility for the execution of their programs, but would like to have guidance and technical assistance from FAO.

20. It will, of course , be realized that a problem such as this, of raising and maintaining the nutritional levels of peoples all over the world, cannot be solved by a campaign, however well conducted, in five years time. All that a campaign can do is to prepare a base from which future national and international efforts could be soundly directed. It is within this limited framework that the Freedom from Hunger Campaign can be most fruitful.

21. It is intended that the Campaign will be officially launched on 1 July this year and will run through 1965. We have already started preliminary planning of our own activities and of programs which governments and other organizations might wish to carry out as part of the Campaign. We expect that the

major part of this year will be taken up with planning the program and getting a start on basic studies and reports to be made during the Campaign. In terms of the Conference Resolution, the FAO Council has appointed an Advisory Campaign Committee of representatives of Member Countries to assist the Director-General. The first meeting of this Committee took place in May this year. A Campaign Trust Fund has also been established to which Member Governments, non-governmental organizations, religious groups, foundations and private individuals are being invited to contribute. The FAO Conference has authorized me to set up a special advisory committee of non-governmental organizations and an NGO conference was held for this purpose in Rome in May.

22. By 1963 we expect to have gained a great deal of new information, and we hope that the Campaign will be bringing results in new activity and new enthusiasm for our aims. In 1963, to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Hot Springs Conference, which led to the foundation of FAO, we will support the organization of a series of national food conferences which will culminate in a World Food Congress at FAO Headquarters in Rome. In 1964 and 1965, we will analyze and disseminate the conclusions of the national and world food congresses and assist in implementation of their recommendations. In 1965, we will review the results of the Campaign and report to our 20th anniversary Conference session which is expected to recommend to Member Governments further action arising out of the Campaign.

23. The Freedom from Hunger Campaign now belongs to the world, and its success will depend upon the response it will eventually evoke among the people of the world. It is gratifying, however, that public opinion in many countries has responded generously to the call of the Campaign. Some Member Countries of FAO have already made their contribution to the Campaign funds, and others have initiated action for setting up National Campaign Committees. Some countries have also taken in hand plans for issuing public appeals for funds which will be required for financing national action projects. The Catholic Bishops of West Germany have contributed $ 100,000 to be used in con-

nection with the Campaign out of 8 million dollars they have raised for fighting hunger and want in the world. These are encouraging portents for the future of the Campaign.

24. Hunger has no race or nationality. It does not discriminate in the choice of its victims. Its mere existence affronts the dignity of human beings everywhere, and even abundance becomes an embarrassment to those who possess it. Man has been ready to wage war in order to defend his dignity and honour and establish lasting peace on earth. But there would be no peace so long as hunger persists. We have today opportunities which no other previous generation has had. The progress of science and technology has infused new faith in man's ability to harness the resources of nature to greater purpose. This new scientific knowledge and sense of purpose is now awaiting translation into organized efforts for the removal of want. Let us, therefore, dedicate our energies and resources to a new kind of war — a war upon poverty and need, and turn this age of anxiety into an age of faith.

JACQUES LECLERCQ

World-wide Mutual Aid

Mutual aid is surely a universally acknowledged obligation. All forms of human wisdom declare it to be so, and there would be no difficulty in putting together a whole volume of texts borrowed from many countries, to the effect that when man meets man he meets his brother, his other self.

It is unfortunate, from our point of view, that the most narrowly particularized literature of Antiquity was Greco-Latin literature. The Greeks scarcely saw further than their city bounds, the Romans no further than Rome. Credit is sometimes given to the Stoics for discovering man's universal value, but this only proves how late the idea emerged in the Greco-Latin world. It was already to be found five hundred years earlier in Confucius and in Buddhism.

It is, from this point of view, unfortunate, too, that Christian culture developed in the Greco-Latin world. Christianity is of course above all distinctions of race and nation; but its universal character was a challenge to the ancient world, and no less so for the fact that the Jews, from whom Christianity directly proceeded, were the most exclusive nation on earth: though the prophets made certain statements of a universal bearing, the Jews read them as promises of future Jewish domination.

The total effect was damaging. for several reasons. We cannot go into them here, for this article is not a historical study; but the conditions into which Christianity was born do help to explain certain aspects of the present situation. A number of present-day difficulties might never have arisen but for the drag of time-old habits.

For us, products as we are of our contemporary culture, one of the most disconcerting phenomena of ancient civilizations in general is, doubtless, the absence of curiosity.

When the Europeans came to America, they found the Aztecs, in what is now Mexico, in a fairly advanced state of civilization. The Aztecs made war on neighbouring peoples in order to take prisoners, for their mode of worship required a constant supply of human sacrifices. But they had no glimmer of curiosity about what went on beyond their own immediate neighbourhood. In South America, not so far away, the Incas had a civilization of the same sort. The Aztecs did not know of their existence, nor were the Incas aware of theirs. Their empire stretched along the seashore, but they never dreamt of building ships and venturing out upon the ocean. The arrival of Europeans was, first and foremost, the arrival of curiosity.

The first contacts of Europe with China were more significant still. The idea of a common destiny of all mankind was one with which the ancient Chinese sages were familiar; but it provoked no desire to know about the more distant world or to acquire its products. The Chinese were content with the civilization they possessed and did not wish to receive anything from other people nor take anything from them. Certain religious infiltrations had occurred in the course of history, and Buddhism, in particular, had spread widely, without meeting any opposition; but there was never any collaboration with countries foreign to the Chinese world.

Europeans began to come into contact with the Chinese from the sixteenth century onwards, but it was especially during the nineteenth century that these efforts intensified and became organized. Now the greatest difficulty was undoubtedly the fact that the Chinese had no wish either to sell what they had or buy what was offered from abroad. The European countries found themselves in the awkward position of merchants using cannon-ball by way of persuasion.

Here we witness a clash of two completely different attitudes of mind. To the Europeans, it was the most natural thing in the world to travel all over the globe in search of usable products, buying and selling here, there, and everywhere. But when

the products of their industry were offered to the Chinese, they replied that they had no need of them, they were satisfied with what they had and desired no change, and this was disconcerting, to say the least. Both parties were puzzled; the Chinese did not see why these barbarians should force them to accept wares they did not need, inferior to those they already possessed: they took it for granted they were inferior. The Europeans were determined to make them change their mind, and by way of inducement fired cannon-balls at them. Then the Chinese gave in, for it is disagreeable to have cannon-balls fired at you; but they did not change their minds, and though they signed treaties they did not like them, and at once proceeded to sabotage them. Whereupon the Europeans accused them of double-dealing, and there ensued an inextricable maze of misunderstandings.

Thus, in all these countries, European penetration was essentially economic and political, and was perpetrated with the assistance of armed force. It totally disregarded the brotherhood of man. We are left wondering if that attitude is not fairly typical of Europe. I say, Europe; I am not speaking of Christianity, though Europe has too easily and often been identified with Christianity. But even before Christianity, the same state of mind was evident among the Greeks, who had trading posts all along the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts. And before the Greeks, the Phoenicians were the same: they engaged in political and economic expansion, just like modern Europe. We know far too little about all this, for so far attention has been insufficiently focussed on it.

But in the Western world Christianity finds its context in this very movement of expansion, and the notion of human brotherhood, beyond all divisions of nation and race, is an essential factor of Christianity. Thus Christians have a systematic apostolic spirit which drives them to spread the Faith wherever men are to be found, and as soon as a new country opens to the Christian world, the missionaries hasten in.

Now this missionary activity is on a different plane, not the politico-economic plane; though sometimes the missionaries arrived together with the traders and soldiers, more often they

followed in their wake, because it was the traders, with armed support, who cleared the way for them. To my knowledge, there is only one occasion when the two processes went hand in hand, and this was in Latin America, where the colonizers were officially charged with the duty of spreading the faith as well as exploiting the country. The result was none too happy, however, because the colonizers proved to be no less crude, cruel and inhuman than they were elsewhere, and religion was made to look as if it were in league with these excesses.

But in spite of this somewhat special case, the missionaries were as a rule bearers of a message of human brotherhood that was quite foreign to the traders and soldiers.

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We thus reach the nineteenth century, the colonial century par excellence; its instruments: the steamship and firearms. So it was that Europe became more or less completely lord of Asia, Africa and Australasia.

In founding colonies the European States were but pursuing their own interests. I do not think there was any attempt on their part to deny it: no one would dream of founding colonies for any other reasons. From time to time the phrase 'bringing them civilization' cropped up: this was hollow talk, aimed merely at a boosting of self-respect; very few effective measures were ever taken to put it into practice. After half a century, a whole century, or even two centuries of colonial domination, the colonized peoples were generally in much the same condition as when the colonists first arrived. The story is the same everywhere. I will not cite examples here, the dimensions of this article do not permit it, but they are well known.

Yet a scanty élite from the colonial countries was receiving European education, studying at the universities and becoming acquainted with European ideas. Now alongside the technical improvements which had facilitated European penetration, came an evolution of ideas that affirmed with increasing force the principles of democracy based on the notion of human equality, fraternity, and the obligation of human communities to ensure the good of all in an atmosphere of equality.

These notions, debated in intellectual circles, were translated in juridical terms which assumed that the autonomy of States was basic.

This implies that humanity as a whole is divided into a succession of States forming closed entities, insulated from one another, each concerned only with itself. It explains why, even today, when you cross a frontier between two countries, the whole human landscape is sometimes transformed in a matter of a few yards, as when crossing the Mexican border, coming from the United States.

Thus the whole of the democratic movement in the nineteenth century was on nationalist lines. Each separate country endeavoured to establish its own form of democratic justice; measures were taken to ensure the welfare of the whole population, but these measures only applied within the country. If famine threatened in a State of North America, or in a French Department, food would be despatched from other parts of the country, but not if there was a famine in another land. If anything was done in that case it would be out of charity, and charity has never been the concern of more than a small number of people; mass-charity does not exist; charity is not something you can take for granted, as if it were the normal functioning of life in common. The system is all against it, whether it is the political or the economic system, for there is no such thing as 'life in common' beyond our frontiers. Within our own country, we are fellow-countrymen; abroad, there are foreigners. If we look for the common good abroad, it is still out of self-interest, and what is good for another country does not concern us. This attitude goes far to explain many present-day situations and much present-day incomprehension.

We find a very interesting illustration of this in America. North American social conditions may be the best in the world, and the North Americans are justly proud of them. South America is much less highly developed, and there North Americans have set up industrial and commercial undertakings with a view to exploiting the natural resources such as nitrate, copper, tin, oil, fruit, etc., which those countries had totally neglected. These ventures do credit to the spirit of enterprise and

powers of organization of their instigators, and moreover they do no harm whatever to the South Americans, who were not developing their resources on their own account. Indeed, the workers employed by the North Americans generally enjoy a higher standard of living than the rest of the population. The life of the population as a whole is not modified in any way, the benefits that accrue go back to the United States. Until recently, this appeared to be a perfectly normal procedure: the businesses were set up as money-making concerns. Why else ? They do no damage, they have not ousted local enterprise. The beneficiaries have nothing on their conscience, and are proud of their pioneering spirit.

And now, today, South America is in a state of indignation towards North America, accusing the North Americans of exploiting them, by draining away the wealth of the continent to their own profit. The greater part of the North American public simply does not understand: what have they done, they wonder: no one has been robbed, the money they earned would not have been earned by anyone else had they not come along. They have deprived no one of it, it is the well-earned fruit of their activities. Of course it is praiseworthy to do good to the poor, but that is charity; business is business. Those who made an honest living out of the South American venture are free to go in for charity if they like, it is a very laudable thing to do. But they cannot be tied down, they are entitled to put their money into good works anywhere they choose, no one has any right to dictate what use they are to make of it.

Here we have a clash of two conceptions, and broadly we may say, one is the nineteenth century conception, the other the twentieth. What great change has taken place ?

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The main change, I think, is in means of communication. It may seem odd that purely technical development should affect mankind so deeply, but, in fact, everything was pointing in the same direction.

The transformation in the means of communication began

at the end of the nineteenth century and reached full development in the twentieth. The nineteenth was the century of steam, and it is thanks to the discovery of steam propulsion that the Europeans could go round the world and settle in all the continents. The twentieth is the century of aeroplane, telephone, telegraph, and radio. With the result that when something happens, wherever it may be, it can be known all over the world an hour later, and men and mail and all forms of communication can go from one end of the world to the other in a matter of hours. Now the ordinary man does not see why mutual aid has not already been organized on a world-wide basis.

Men's minds are ready for it. As we saw, wise men have always held it to be self-evident that people should help one another wherever they chance to meet, and man is brother to man. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, the idea found general acceptance in the western world, but on the national plane only. The democratic movement that was evolving all through the century had no further aim in view. So that although in theory the international idea was well to the forefront, in practice it was but secondary, till the end of the first world war. World organization was still a matter of individual States, that is to say, it was the State that was the most extensive human community; it was sovereign: no one had any right to interfere in its affairs; and it was bound to see to the welfare of its citizens, not of those of other States. There was no question of meddling in the internal affairs of another State. And when two States needed to reach agreement, it was done on a footing of complete independence, representatives of each side being merely concerned with the interests of their own nationals.

This conception, a modern one, fitted the existing situation, the situation brought about by modern means of communication. The States might vary in degrees of importance; but they were the outcome of historical factors against which there was no redress. And indeed, in most cases, there was no opportunity to develop common life on a wider field than that of individual States. As already mentioned, there were in the nineteenth century certain forward-looking minds who appreciated the need

of broadening the existing range of collaboration, but it was only after the first world war that a general attempt at international action was made, with the League of Nations.

It was soon clear how poorly people were prepared for it. The main preoccupation that emerged was that of safeguarding the absolute sovereignty of States. So the League of Nations was doomed to founder. But the fact remained: world-wide communications were advancing steadily all the time.

I first realized the full extent of this advance during the Spanish War, in 1939, when Franco's army entered Barcelona. The announcer on the Barcelona radio station was reporting the battle in all its phases, till the very moment when he himself was shot down. When his voice ceased, we knew he was dead. The whole world was listening. In the same way, during the Budapest rising in 1956, when the Russian terror broke out, the crowds were demonstrating an hour later in front of the Soviet embassy in Washington. And quite recently, subscription lists for the victims were drawn up only an hour or two after the Agadir earthquake; welfare planes left Belgium, where I am writing this article, the very next day; soon after, five thousand Belgian families registered their willingness to take children from the devastated area, and the children arrived a few days later. These are but a handful of examples where it would be easy to quote hundreds. So a sense of world-wide community is really growing: what happens in other countries, or in other continents, is no longer foreign. And a political organization that takes each State as a separate entity, sovereign in its own right, is a survival from a dead past.

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Until recently, the western peoples were living within the tranquillity of their own political systems, which seemed to them to be justified, reasonable and balanced. Nowadays, that tranquillity is liable to be disturbed by incidents of every conceivable nature: first it was shaken by Communism; for the communist States, younger than the parliamentary States, use methods better adapted to the days we live in. This is not to condone communist doctrine, but merely to remark upon a

simple phenomenon of political youthfulness. It has often been observed how, during the last ten years, nearly all the bright ideas on the international plane came from the communists, because, in real life, it is the young who are the initiators. The reactions of the western world are those of old age: an old man likes to keep what he has got and to go on doing what he has always done, he looks askance at innovations.

At the moment, the tides are running high. Nothing can be taken for granted; the world now evolving is a new world, and nearly all the old formulae need revising. It is very tiresome for the leaders of the western States, who have been used to finding things so nice and quiet.

They never realized that when, fifty years ago, the élite of the Black peoples were being educated along White men's lines, they were lapping up democratic doctrine, a doctrine which declares that the national resources of a country must first and foremost contribute to the development of the national community. The Black élites naturally came to the conclusion that they were being bled dry, when they saw the resources of their country augmenting the wealth of the White nations. That is precisely why the first phase of the emancipation of coloured peoples is a national phase. They absorb the White idea of the independence of States, and then insist, logically, that the resources of their country should first be available for home consumption. Now these notions are taking shape at a time when the unity of the human race is becoming more and more manifest. Preoccupations on the national level do not hinder the growth of community awareness on a world-wide scale, with the result that nations and States, even if they retain a juridical structure of national independence, form, on the moral plane, coherent regions of a unified world. So nowadays it is just as shocking to know there are people in India suffering from starvation while the North Americans have more means of subsistance than they can consume, as it would be to hear of famine in Texas when corn was being burnt in railway engines in Indiana.

This inter-mingling of nationalism and inter-nationalism is pretty confused. As far as facts are concerned, it would be easy

enough to give any number of examples of contradictory trends. But one factor stands out above all the rest: mankind is becoming more and more exasperated with the system of national egoism, and is demanding the establisment of a world community for the benefit of all.

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All you have just read is devoid of originality. The ideas are in the air, everyone is discussing them. Those who have read John F. Cronin's article in the March number of *World Justice* will have met most of them there. Yet in Christian circles, as in business and political circles, they continue to be found provocative. We may well wonder why, particulary in Christian circles, where we would expect such ideas to originate, or at least find the right soil to flourish in. For no view of life more readily lends itself to the universal scale than the Christian view.

Yet the resistance of many Christians is an indubitable fact: it would hardly be unfair to speak of the resistance of Christian circles as such. In a book I published two years ago in the French series *Je sais - je crois,* entitled *Le chrétien devant la planétarisation du monde,* I analyzed this problem, and I am not going to repeat what I wrote: may I refer my readers to the book itself. It contains a number of texts from Pius XII to the effect that it is the duty of Chritians to take part in the trend towards universality in human action, and from the tone of the Pope's utterances, it is clear that he had come up against a certain amount of resistance himself: he complains that Catholics do not understand, that many Catholics consider they should shut themselves in tight little groups in order to achieve supernatural perfection, from which they apparently assum the rest of the world is excluded: they have no wish to be the leaven in the world, as our Saviour commanded...

Indeed, many Christians do find it difficult to understand. From childhood upwards they have been told they must propagate the faith and support the missions; and here they are confronted with a unification of te human race which is to be accomplished outside any scheme of conversion to Christianity.

For a very long time, the Church ardently desired the world to turn back to Christ, and concentrated all its efforts on this goal. But today, when we speak of the world, we do not mean, as the nineteenth century did, merely Europe, with its Christian tradition, we mean all five continents, of which the greater part cannot return to Christ because it never was Christian. The Church has to pursue its evangelizing work unwearyingly, but at the same time Christians, the 'salt of the earth', must take an active part in all human works.

Pius XII often stressed that the collective work of mankind can only be performed on the plane of the natural law, for this all men can accept and understand, including those who do not understand that Christ is their Saviour. The notion of human brotherhood belongs to the natural law; it is immediately evident to the human mind, and if Christians were largely inclined to believe that it was of Christian origin, this is, as we saw, because the Greco-Latin civilization in the midst of which Christianity grew to maturity, was, from the moral viewpoint, exceedingly crude. But you can admit that, without being a Christian. What Christianity added to the natural foundation, was good news that God, being a Father, intervenes in the affairs of the world with the whole weight of his love, by sending his Son, by calling men to unite, in Christ, in his work of love; and this irruption of divine love in the world gives Christian love a substance, a fervour and a force that are unequalled. 'From their childhood', said Pius XII, 'Christians learn to consider all men, irrespective of race, nation or colour, as creatures of God, made in his image, redeemed by Christ and called to eternal life; and they learn to pray for them and love them'.

'No other human group is so favourably pre-disposed, from every point of view, to international understanding'.

Indeed, it is vain to think that men could unite in the Christian faith if they did not unite in all of their life... But that is another story, which does not belong to our topic today.

(Translated by R. M. Bethell).

J. M. PIETERS

Aiding Underdeveloped Countries through International Co-operation

Aid to the so-called underdeveloped areas has become a matter of international concern especially since World War II.

Reference must be made in this connection especially to the Preamble of the United Nations Charter in which the participating countries gave expression to their firm determination 'to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom' and 'to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples'.

In this connection, also, we find that one of the aims to be pursued as listed in Article I of the Charter is the achievement of 'international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character'; and this is rendered more specific by Article 13 (1, b) which says that for this purpose 'the General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations'.

This international co-operation in the economic and social fields is outlined more in detail in Article 55 which says that 'the United Nations shall promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development' as well as 'solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems'.

In addition to this, all Members of the United Nations have pledged themselves, according to Article 56 of the Charter, 'to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55'.

According to Article 60 of the Charter, responsibility for the

discharge of these functions is 'vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council'.

For the sake of completeness it may also be pointed out that Article 73 of the same Charter contains a 'Declaration regarding non-self-governing territories'.

In accordance with this Article, 'Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses; to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic and scientific purposes set forth in this Article'.

It would be impossible within the limits of the present survey to attempt to describe and appraise what has actually been done to date in this matter of aid to the underdeveloped areas. To do that we should have to deal with all of the following programmes: a) international aid programmes (initiated by the United Nations); b) bi-lateral programmes (set up, for the most part by the United States on the basis of bi-lateral agreements with the Governments of aid-receiving countries); c) regional programmes (such as the Colombo Plan in which all of the non-communist countries of Southeast Asia are now participating and which is based on mutual aid of all Members. Another example of these regional programmes is that of the Organization of American States); d) national programmes (in which are included the plans covering a wide range of subjects drawn up by the 'administering authorities' for the 'non-self-governing territories' under their control). In addition to these to-

pics, the programmes of the Caribbean Commission and the South Pacific Commission would also have to be studied.

Under the circumstances, we deem it advisable to limit ourselves in this article to a discussion of *aid granted on the international level* and to concentrate especially on the problem of *financing the economic and social development* of the less developed areas, a problem which, as we shall see, has not yet met with a satisfactory solution. It is true that there have been a number of very interesting developments in this field recently but to grasp their real significance it will be necessary to go back over a number of years.

The first resolution with regard to the underdeveloped countries was that which was adopted by the First General Assembly of the United Nations on Dec. 14, 1946. This Resolution called upon the Economic and Social Council to study the question of providing effective ways and means for furnishing, in cooperation with the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, expert advice in the economic, social and cultural fields to Member Nations who desire this assistance (1).

In 1947 and 1948 a more concrete plan was gradually worked out for technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries. Its aims was to place the scientific and technical knowledge of the more advanced countries at the disposal of the less developed areas and the plan was definitely formulated in the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 4, 1948 (2).

The world-wide announcement by President Truman in January 1949, of his 'bold new program» whereby the scientific advances and industrial progress of the United States should be made available for the development of backward countries and which was to be carried out in part through the United Nations Organization added new stimulus to the UN plans.

This led to the so-called 'Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance' which aimed at giving the underdeveloped countries an opportunity to strengthen their economies with the

(1) Resolution 52 (I).
(2) Resolution 200 (III).

help of modern means and to develop in this way on a sound basis. This plan was, for the rest, based on the same ideas as those already contained in the Resolution of Dec. 4, 1948.

During the years that have elapsed since then, much useful work has unquestionably been accomplished by means of this *technical assistance* though it must be admitted that the results did not always correspond to the high expectations that had been cherished with regard to it (3).

One important difficulty is that there is no direct connection between this international technical assistance and any system for *providing capital* and that means that in many cases where new possibilities were opened up by means of the international technical assistance, their further exploitation and development were dependent on the provision of capital from other sources.

It is true that many underdeveloped countries are even now devoting an appreciably greater part of their income and reserves to investments for the purpose of increasing production than they did a few years ago and it is also true that the necessity of mobilizing domestic private capital is understood. No less true is it that foreign capital is needed to provide for the necessary basic equipment, to carry out large development projects, to improve and extend public utilities and to give industry a real start.

The key problem, therefore, that has faced the General Assembly and the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations for years is the fact that the domestic funds, whether governmental or private, that are needed for development projects, either do not exist or are inadequate and that foreign funds coming eiher directly from private sources or through the International Bank are also insufficient to meet the needs.

(3) For a survey of this subject cf. *The expanded programme of technical assistance. A statistical summary of activities from July 1950-May 1958.* Technical Assistance Newsletter n° 44, July-August 1958.

With regard to the disappointing aspects of the matter, cf. W. Brand, *Economische hulp aan onontwikkelde gebieden,* in: Wereld-in-formatie, 1e jaargang 1959, n° 1-2, p. 35 ff.

To obtain foreign help in the form of *private investments* it is necessary in the first place that the receiving country must create a suitable climate for such investments. That means that prospective investors may be able to have confidence in the stability of the receiving country and in the efficiency of its administrative machinery. The receiving country must provide guarantees against discrimination and expropriation without reasonable compensation and must provide facilities for the transfer of annual profits and discounts for depreciation in accordance with sound business practice.

It is well known of course that prospects for investments in the underdeveloped countries, especially in those that have but recently become independent, have not always been bright in this respect. There were simply too many risks: danger to life and property, uncertainty with regard to one's rights, social unrest, lack of impartiality, trustworthiness and efficiency on the part of the administration along with political, fiscal and monetary instability (4).

Another important factor is that these countries, mindful of their colonial past and realizing that political emancipation, if not coupled with economic emancipation, would not give them real freedom, are over-sensitive about their independence. They therefore fear that the injection of foreign capital into important sectors of their economic life would lead to a new form of colonialism that would interfere with their national sovereignty and independence.

The stage has thus been set for a very unfortunate situation in many areas. On the one hand, development has stagnated since political independence was obtained and people see very clearly that foreign capital is needed for the development of national resources and the increase of production within the nation. On the other hand, foreign capital is distrusted and kept at a distance because it is looked upon as a potential danger since people think that their newly acquired political free-

(4) For a description of the more favorable climate for private investments under the former colonial regimes cf. A. J. Brown, *Introduction to the World Economy*, London 1959, p. 109-110.

dom can be safegarded only if they are independent to the greatest possible degree of foreign investments (5).

We shall come back to his point later when dealing with certain recent government measures relating to foreign investments.

A similar attitude of reserve is often maintained with regard to help received from foreign governments.

Under the circumstances, it is easy to see why underdeveloped countries that are politically independent take a much more reserved attitude towards foreign assistance based on bilateral agreements than they do towards assistance that might be provided through the United Nations Organization.

As early as 1949, therefore, at the time of the Fourth General Assembly, it was urged in certain quarters that *the financing* of aid programmes in the underdeveloped areas should be provided for *through public international bodies* so as to forestall all political pressure on the part of money-lending nations. It can be said that the United Nations Organization has paid close attention to the matter of financing social and economic development in the underdeveloped countries ever since that time.

At the outset it was still quite evident that — in principle — the Western Powers wanted the rate of development to be determined by the financial capacity of the less developed countries which would have meant that it was to be determined mainly by the savings of those countries themselves. At that time the American idea of 'private enterprise' as a basis for providing funds also played an important part still as opposed to the wish of the less developed countries that wanted to borrow money only from Governments and from international financial institutions.

Of great importance for the further course of events was the point made (by the British representative) during the Fifth General Assembly that while private investments always aim at 'direct returns', the great field of 'indirect returns, the social and economic overhead' was not sufficiently emphasized and

(5) In connection with the preceding, Cf. William H. Nicholls, *Accommodating economic change in underdeveloped countries* in: *American Economic Review*, vol. XLIX, May 1959, pp. 157-158.

that for this reason the basis for a general social and economic development was neglected. It was with this in mind that the General Assembly passed a Resolution on November 20, 1950 recommending among other things that the Economic and Social Council should 'pay special attention to the financing of non-self-liquidating projects which are basic to economic development' ([6]). ,

As a result of this recommendation, a special Report was drawn up by a group of experts on the financing of economic development and on the relationship existing between technical assistance and financial aid. Another result of the General Assembly Resolution was the suggestion made in the Economic and Social Council that an international development authority should be set up to coordinate the various development programmes in the underdeveloped areas. It was suggested also that this authority should have control of an International Fund to finance 'non-self-liquidating projects' and to provide 'grants in aid' or long-term loans at reduced interest rates to the Governments of the underdeveloped countries.

A plea was made also for an increase in the loans to be made by the International Bank and for the establishment of an international finance corporation to promote the financing of private productive enterprise either through loans without government guarantee, through equity investments or by other methods intended for the same purpose.

The question of the proposed Fund was indeed discussed but the dividing line between opponents and proponents co-incided almost exactly with the line separating the more developed and the less developed areas and no positive results were achieved. It is true that the spokesmen for the more developed countries seemed convinced of the necessity of speeding up the economic and social development of the underdeveloped areas. In view of the fact that the activities of the International Bank had increased, however, they could not yet see why new administrative machinery and a special Fund should be created.

([6]) Resolution 400 (V).

Another consideration, and one that was stressed especially by the United States, was that the costs involved in the needed rearmament made it difficult for the more advanced nations to set money aside for institutions such as the proposed International Fund.

The more advanced countries were willing, however, to work towards the establishment of an '*International Finance Corporation*' as an affiliate of the International Bank. The first draft of the Statutes of this Corporation were ready by the spring of 1955 with the result that the final steps for its establishment could be taken in July 1956.

Less rapid was the progress made with regard to the creation of a capital Fund for the economic development of underdeveloped countries which was to be known as SUNFED (*Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development*). As previously noted, the idea of this Fund was inseparably linked up, especially by the United States, with the matter of world-wide disarmament. There seemed to be a growing tendency there also to emphazise the bi-lateral approach to the matter of lending assistance rather than a multi-lateral approach and also to emphasize the idea of free enterprise.

Dominant theme in the discussions for a considerable period was the connection between the proposed Fund and disarmament. Then came a gradual change. Stress was still placed on the fact that the Free World had to spend vast sums for defense because of threatening world conditions and this outlay was regarded as a contribution to peace and to the security not only of the countries that had to shoulder the burden but of the world as a whole. At the same time, clear expression was also given to the idea that the economic development of the underdeveloped areas also represents a positive contribution to international peace and security. Under the circumstances, there seemed every reason to believe that agreement would finally be reached with regard to the establishment of SUNFED.

In this connection, it is well to recall the highly interesting report made by Mr. Raymond Scheyven in the General Assembly in 1954 as well as the Resolution of the General Assembly in which it requested a special *ad hoc* committee to set forth

the different forms of legal framework on which a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development may be established and statutes drafted (7).

The final report of this committee as submitted to the Twelfth General Assembly provided the groundwork for renewed efforts to get SUNFED definitely established. Advocates of the Fund tried hard to present the plan in such a way that the traditional opponents would find it hard to continue their opposition. For this reason it was decided not to use the name SUNFED since it had become a focal point of opposition in the United States for some years. In order to avoid fruitless discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of bi-lateralism and multi-lateralism respectively, the value of bi-lateral aid programmes was also recognized explicitly. What was suggested was not a new specialized organization which would require large organizational machinery but simply a Fund within the framework of the United Nations which might grow up gradually. Money taken out of this Fund should be used to improve the social and economic infrastructure of the countries aided and only such projects should be supported as would fit into the 'integrated economic development' of the countries concerned. The administrative board of this Fund was to be made up of members representing the more developed and the less developed countries on a basis of parity and decisions were to be made only by a qualified majority. It was thought that such an arrangement would give the more developed countries an adequate guarantee that the money would be used in a responsible manner.

This plan also proved unacceptable to the opponents of what was traditionally understood by SUNFED. Their attitude may have been influenced by the thought that it was not expressed clearly enough that the receiving countries should provide guarantees that the money would be spent for the purposes indicated, and should, therefore, accept some kind of international supervision with regard to the use of the money.

At this point, the United States came forward with a comple-

(7) Resolution 1030 (XI).

tely new suggestion which amounted in substance to nothing more than that the scope of the Technical Assistance Programme should be widened. One of the reasons advanced for this was that a number of cases where technical assistance was badly needed could not be dealt with because the funds avaible for the Technical Assistance Programme were insufficient. It was thought advisable, therefore, that a 'Special Projects Fund' should be set up within the framework of the Technical Assistance Programme with the understanding that the new Special Projects Fund together with the Technical Assistance Programme should receive a total of 100 million dollars annually as compared with the 30 million dollars that had been set aside for the international technical assistance programme previously.

Though the prospect of having the international Technical Assistance Programme considerably expanded in this way was by no means unattractive, it was clearly evident that this diversional manœuvre on the part of the United States seriously endangered the prospects for the creation of SUNFED for which it supporters had been struggling for years. Under the circumstances, it was decided that the new American plan should be accepted with the idea that it would be the first phase in a process of development which would ultimately develop into what SUNFED was originally planned to be.

Agreement was reached on the text of the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1957 in which it was decided in principle to set up a '*Special Fund*' as 'an expansion of the existing technical assistance and development activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, which would provide systematic and sustained assistance in fields essential to the integrated technical, economic and social development of the less developed countries ([8]).

Efforts were to be made to raise enough money so that the Fund, including the resources already at the disposal of the Technical Assistance Programme should reach the required hundred million dollar figure annually. The Fund, however was not to be regarded simply as an accessory to the Technical Assis-

([8]) Resolution 1219 (XII).

tance Programme, but was to retain its own identity altough it was to work in close co-operation with the existing agencies of the United Nations and thus also with Technical Assistance. An important provision was added to the effect 'that as and when the resources prospectively available are considered by the General Assembly to be sufficient to enter into the field of capital development, principally the development of the economic and social infrastructure of the less developed countries, the Assembly shall review the scope and future activities of the Special Fund and take such action it may deem appropriate' ([9]).

It was on this basis that the definite decision was made in the Thirteenth General Assembly by its Resolution 1240 (XIII) to establish the Special Fund which began actually to operate as of January 1, 1959. As previously stated, the Fund shall employ its available money for the time being to expand the scope of the several United Nations programmes for technical aid. In particular, it shall devote itself to such special projects as are beyond the usual scope of Technical Assistance, or are too extensive to be carried out under the existing programmes, and which will constitute the first phase of the technical, economic and social infrastructure of the less developed countries (pre-investment research).

'The Special Fund is thus envisaged as a constructive advance in United Nations assistance to the less developed countries which should be of immediate significance in accelerating their economic development by, inter alia, facilitating new capital investment of all types by creating conditions which would make such investments either feasible or more effective'.

'The Special Fund shall concentrate, as far as particable, on relatively large projects and avoid allocation of its resources over a great number of small projects' ([10]).

The Special Fund does not initiate projects. Governments

([9]) Resolution 1219 (XII) III. The preceding is taken for the most part from: *Uitgave van het* (Nederlandse) *Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken,* n° 54, pp. 172-175, 's-Gravenhage, 1958.

([10]) Resolution 1240 (XIII) B I.

decide for themselves what projects they wish to submit. Although the Fund will be glad to assist those countries in preparing their projects, its terms of reference place upon the countries themselves the responsibility for proposing projects, for contributing substantially to their costs and for obligations which will continue when the project is completed and handed over. The Fund's responsibility is to conduct investigations to establish whether a project is technically feasible and economically justifiable ([11]).

'Projects shall be undertaken which will lead to early results and have the widest possible impact in advancing the economic, social or technical development of the countries concerned, in particular by facilitating new capital investment'.

'Due consideration shall be given to the arrangements made for the integration of projects into national development programmes and for effective co-ordination of the project with other multilateral and bi-lateral programmes'.

'In view of the resources prospectively avaible at the time of the initial period of the Special Fund's operations, projects to be assisted by the Special Fund might be in one or a combination of the following forms: surveys; research and training; demonstration, including pilot projects. These may be inplemented by the provision of staff, experts, equipment, supplies and services, as well as the establishment of institutes, demonstration centers, plants or works, and other appropriate means, including fellowships, in so far as they are integral parts of a specific project financed by the Special Fund'.

'In accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the assistance furnished by the Special Fund shall not be a means of foreign economic or political interference in the international affairs of the country or countries concerned and shall not be accompanied by any conditions of a political nature ([12]).

([11]) Taken from: Paul G. Hoffman, Managing Director United Nations Special Fund, *Helping the underdeveloped countries to help themselves,* in *Progress,* Spring 1959, p. 43.

([12]) Resolution 1240 (XIII) B II.

Nevertheless, strict conditions and accountability are demanded of the receiving governments and the executing agents to ensure the effective use of international funds ([13]).

'Participation in the Special Fund shall be open to any States Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies or of the International Atomic Energy Agency'.

'The immediate inter-governmental control of the policies and operations of the Special Fund shall be exercised by a Governing Council, consisting of representatives of eighteen States and elected by the Economic and Social Council from among Members of the International Atomic Energy Agency'.

'There shall be equal representation on the Governing Council of economically more developed countries, having due regard to their contributions to the Special Fund, on the one hand, and less developed countries, on the other hand, taking into account the need of equitable geographical distribution among the latter members'.

'The Governing Council shall provide general policy guidance on the administration and operations of the Special Fund. It shall have final authority for the approval of the projects and programmes recommended by the Managing Director, who shall have the over-all responsibility for the operations of the Fund with sole authority to recommend to the Governing Council projects submitted by Governments'.

'Decisions of the Governing Council on important questions shall be made by a two-third majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include questions of policy, the approval of projects and the allocation of funds' ([14]).

Though the Special Fund is admittedly a step forward towards the multilateral financing (within the framework of the UN) of the social and economic development of the underdeveloped countries it must be clearly understood that it is not SUNFED. Granted certain conditions, it might indeed develop into a capital fund, but this is not very probable as we shall see presently.

([13]) Paul G. Hoffman, *Operation Breakthrough,* in *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 38, n° 1, October 1959, p. 43.

([14]) Resolution 1240 (XIII), B III.

The final outcome will depend, to a great extent, on the United States which seemed willing to admit that success on the part of the Special Fund might possibly lead to the creation of a capital fund but was certainly unwilling to make any pledges in that direction.

Every effort made in the Thirteenth General Assembly to have the Resolution concerning the Special Fund interpreted in such a way that the Fund could be considered as a beginning of SUNFED was expressly rejected by the United States. Even when an attempt was made to have a clause inserted in the Resolution calling upon all members of the UN 'to work for the speedy establishment of a United Nations capital development fund', the clause had to be omitted so as not to endanger the establishment of the Fund itself. Other considerations led to the rejection of a compromise text which was to have been inserted in the Resolution and which would have asked all members of the United Nations 'to lend their full support to the Special Fund and to make appropriate efforts, separately or jointly through the United Nations and or other bodies, towards the establishment of conditions which would facilitate the financing of the economic development of the less developed countries, particularly their economic and social infrastructure'.

The Thirteenth General Assembly did, indeed, adopt another Resolution in which Members of the UN were urged 'to continue working for the establishment of a United Nations capital development fund' and in which it was decided 'to review, as a separate subject of its agenda, progress in the field of financing the economic development of the less developed countries, particulary progress towards the establishment of a United Nations capital development fund' ([15]). Aside from the votes of the Afro-Asian and the Latin American countries along with the Soviet block, the Resolution got very little backing from the more advanced countries and it is clear that no very positive results can be expected from it.

In the light of what has happened since then, it is worth

([15]) Resolution 1317 (XIII).

recalling that when the spokesman for the United States explained his vote in the plenary session, he voiced a preference for an '*International Development Association* affiliated with the International Bank for the purpose of making loans on flexible terms to underdeveloped countries'. Under the circumstances it was to be expected that more positive results could be expected from that sort of an Association. Such has actually been the case.

At the annual meeting of the International Bank held in Washington D.C. from September 28 to October 2, 1959, the representatives of 68 countries voted unanimously to accept in principle the American suggestion to set up an International Development Association (IDA). As a result of this, the Bank's Board of Governors adopted a resolution according to which, 'with respect to the question of creating an International Development Association as an affiliate to the Bank, the Executive Directors, having regard to the views expressed by the Governors and considering the broad principles on which such an Association should be established and all other aspects of the matter, were requested to formulate articles of agreement of such an Association for submission to the Member Governments of the Bank'.

In the light of everything that had happened previously, the American suggestion with regard to the Association was not unexpected. It is interesting, in this connection, to recall what Harlan Cleveland had said at the Seventy-First Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association. 'The proposed IDA', according to Mr. Cleveland, 'is no new idea; it was formally proposed as long ago as March, 1951, in the Partners in Progress report of the International Advisory Board. But the Monroney Resolution, passed by the U.S. Senate in July 1958, gave new impetus to the scheme, by exhorting the executive branch to think about an institution that would provide 'a source of long-term loans available at a reasonable rate of interest and repayable in local currencies'; facilitate 'the use of local and other foreign currencies, including those available to the United States through the sale of agricultural surplusses'; and ensure 'that funds for international economic development can be

made available by a process which would encourage multi-lateral contributions for this purpose' ([16]).

According to the plan, the purpose of IDA shall be to furnish the underdeveloped countries with investment funds in cases for which the existing institutions cannot provide. In particular, the Association is to supplement the action of the International Bank whenever the conditions imposed by that institution would impose too much of a burden on the borrowing countries. IDA is therefore to provide capital for longer periods and at lower rates of interest than can be done by the International Bank. Plans now under consideration would call for loans extending over a period of from 20 to 40 years at $2\frac{1}{4}$ % interest. An opportunity is also to be provided to repay at least a part of these loans in local currency.

According to plan, IDA is to be an affiliate of the International Bank but it is to have its own directorate and capital amounting to one billion dollars which is to be contributed within five years. The advisability of increasing that amount is to be discussed at the end of every five year period. Membership in IDA is intended to be open only to members of the International Bank and voting will be regulated by the same rules as in the Bank.

It is expected that the statutes which have been drawn up by the Executive Directors will be submitted to the Member Governments of the International Bank in the course of this year, 1960. A great variety of desiderata on the part of the Member Governments will undoubtedly have to be taken into consideration together with all kinds of financial and economic problems. Among other things, there may also be a question as to whether membership should not be open to all members ot the UNO as well as to those of the Specialized Agencies.

With regard to voting, it is not unlikely that some countries will favor an equal vote for the rich and the poor countries. This will not be granted if the voting procedure of the International Bank is adopted since voting there is based on the pro-

([16]) Harlan Cleveland, *The convalescence of foreign aid,* in *American Economic Review,* vol. XLIX, May, 1959, n° 2, p. 223.

portion of capital contributions made by the several countries. On the other hand, reference may possibly be made to the voting procedure in the Special Fund. As noted above, the Governing Council of this Fund is made up of rich and poor countries on a basic of parity but the interests of those who have made large contributions are safeguarded by the rule that 'decisions of the Governing Council on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting'. It remains to be seen, however, whether a provision of that kind will be acceptable to those who are to make the largest contributions to the International Development Association.

Provision should also be made in the Statutes of IDA to guarantee that no loans be made to countries that are incapable of proper management and also that countries receiving help may not be able to cancel their obligations later in an undue manner. It would be well to get a provision like that of the International Bank which makes no loans to countries that do not meet their obligations towards foreign countries in a suitable manner. Much importance must certainly be attached to proper conduct between debtors and creditors and, in general, also to the treatment of international interests in accordance with international law.

In case ratification of the IDA statutes on the part of the participating countries proceeds normally, it is probable that IDA will begin to function sometime in 1961. That will mean that an important new source of multi-lateral aid will have been provided ([17]).

In line with this subject, it is well to note also that the registered capital of the *International Bank* itself has been doubled. The Bank has acquired much experience with regard to problems of the underdeveloped countries down through the years and has attained to great competence in the field of planning and research. The growing importance of the Bank's work can be seen from the fact that loans made in the fiscal year

([17]) Use was made in the preceding section of the data given in *Internationale Technische Hulp*, 15 december, 1959, 9e jaargang, n° 12, pp. 7-8.

1957-8 numbered 34 and totalled 711 million dollars as compared with only 20 loans totalling 338 million dollars in the previous year. In the present context, this importance is enhanced by the fact that 70 % of the loans were made to underdeveloped countries.

All of these developments are certainly gratifying. There is reason, however, to ask oneself whether this organizational growth in the direction of multi-lateral aid (Special Fund, International Bank and International Development Association) does not bring with it a danger that the total amount of aid actually provided will be increased only to a very small extent. It is certainly not inconceivable that requests for loans that were granted by the International Bank only with a certain amount of reluctance because there was no alternative, will now be turned over to IDA with the result that the total capital to be made available will be less than the increase in the number of lending agencies might lead one to expect. It must be remembered, too, that the United States are increasingly inclined to feel that since the European countries have now recovered their economic strength, they should increase their contributions to the developed of the underdeveloped areas considerably while the United States could lower its contribution ([18]).

It will be well to realize, furthermore, that once IDA is definitely established, there will be very little chance to argue successfully in favor of the original SUNFED plan. Taking everything into consideration, therefore, there is still no basis for excessive optimism. In this connection we merely wish to recall that Paul Hoffman, basing himself on comparatively recent findings, fixed the minimum of the extra capital that should be made available for the underdeveloped areas within the next ten years at thirty billion dollars. He felt that with such a sum it would be possible to raise the per capital income in

([18]) Reference may be made here to an article in *The Economist*, Nov. 21, 1959, entitled: *Redressing the balance. American reluctance to go on carrying almost alone the burden of general economic aid. New obligation on new-rich Europe.* Cf. also a report drawn up by a special investigating commission appointed by the U.S. Congress under the chairmanship of Mrs.

these areas by 2 per-cent annually as compared with the present annual increase of 1 per-cent, a raise which would by no means do away with poverty but would at least make living conditions more bearable for the people ([19]).

This survey would be incomplete if nothing were said about *private investments* which are also important. This is also a subject in which the United Nations Organization has taken a great interest. Thus, 'as early as 1952, the General Assembly of the United Nations referring to the importance of stimulating the international flow of private capital for the economic development of underdeveloped countries, requested the Secretary General to study the volume and direction of private foreign investments as well as the types and fields of application of such investments and any reason for their continued inadequacy in underdeveloped countries' ([20]).

We have already called attention to the fact that the International Finance Corporation was established in July 1956 in order to promote such investments. IFC's objective is to further economic development by encouraging the growth of productive private enterprise, particularly in the less developed areas. It intends to do this by:

1) investing in productive private entreprises, in association with private investors and without government guarantee of repayment, in cases where sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms;
2) serving as a clearing house to bring together investment opportunities, private capital (both foreign and domestic) and experienced management; and
3) helping to stimulate the productive investment of private capital, both domestic and foreign ([21]).

IFC operates as an affiliate of the International Bank, although it is a separate legal entity and its funds are entirely separate and distinct from those of the Bank. Membership in IFC

Edna F. Kelly. January 1960.

([19]) Paul G. Hoffman, *Operation Breakthrough,* in *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 38, n° 1, October 1959, p. 38.

([20]) Resolution 622 C (VII).

([21]) International Finance Corporation, *Statutes.*

is open only to governments which are members of the Bank.

Industrial, agricultural, financial, commercial and other private business enterprises are eligible for IFC financing, provided that their operations are productive in character: but IFC will prefer, in its early years, to make most of its investments in entreprises which are predominantly industrial.

As the President of IFC declared: 'the International Finance Corporation is unique as a public international organization supported by a substantial number of governments, to further economic development by promoting the spread of private enterprise in the developing areas of the world. This is an important recognition of the dynamic power of competitive private enterprise in promoting economic development to the mutual advantage of the less and the more industrialized countries. Where industrialization is in its early stages, private capital, allied with experience in modern management and technology, is a practical and positive stimulus to growth' [22]).

By the end of 1958 the IFC had committed about $ 12 million in twelve projects in six underdeveloped countries in association with private investors who had committed $ 50 million.

A more generalized view of the matter is provided in a recent UN publication as follows: 'Seen in the perspective at the beginning of 1959, the international flow of private capital appears to have assumed increasing proportions and so does its potential as well as actual contribution to an expanding world economy' ([23]). The report rightly points out that the contribution made by direct investments to infrastructure improvement and to the progress of industrialization, although an indirect one, is sometimes considerable.

'In the United Nations, the General Assembly, at the end of 1958 stressed the need for increased knowledge and better understanding of the conditions and opportunities for international investment. It requested the Secretary General to inquire in the

([22]) Robert L. GARNER in: *The International Finance Corporation,* Washington 1956.

([23]) *The International Flow of Private Capital 1956-1958,* United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1959.

fields of activity in which foreign private investment is needed and sought by underdeveloped countries and the volume and forms in which such investment would be acceptable'.

'It is intended to result in a report concerning measures in operation or contemplated, both in capital-exporting and capital-importing countries, for the channeling of an increasing flow of private capital into the development of underdeveloped countries under mutually satisfactory arrangements. The report is to be submitted in 1960 to the twenty-ninth session of the Economic and Social Council and to be transmitted to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly with the Council's recommendations' ([24]).

To attract private investments it is of primary importance that fair treatment be assured. In this connection, the *Financial Times* recently commented as follows: 'There is a strong case, as Lord Shawcross pointed out in an address to the Belgian Royal Economic Society for preparing a multi-lateral convention providing the minimum substantive rules for protecting private investment, alongside a treaty establishing a system of arbitration to which private investors could have recourse in the event of dispute with the governments of capital receiving countries' ([25]).

We should like to refer in this connection to a very interesting article entitled: *The promotion of International Investment,* by Lord Shawcross ([26]) and to the articles of H. Giesecke ([27]) and A. Muddhatir ([28]) as well as to a publication by H. Simonet ([29]).

In conclusion we should like to point out that scarcity of capital is not the greatest obstacle to economic growth in the un-

([24]) Resolution 1318 (XIII).

([25]) Lombard, *Holding the ring for investment.* The financial Times, 16 December, 1959.

([26]) Natoletter, Vol. 8, n° 2, February 1960, p. 19 f.

([27]) *Schutz von Privatinvestionen in Entwicklungsländern,* in *Wirtschaftsdienst,* Heft 12, December 1958, p. 684-686.

([28]) *Der Schutz internationalen privaten Kapitals für die Finanzierung von Entwicklungsvorhaben,* in *Wirtschaftsdienst,* Heft 1, Januar 1959, p. 21-29.

([29]) Henri Simonet, *La formation du capital dans les pays sous-développés et l'assistance financière étrangère.* Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie Solvay 1959, p. 47-56.

derdeveloped areas. Schultz pointed out in this connection that it is not import of capital *per se* but 'effort and capital to improve the quality of people engaged in economic activities and to raise the level of productive arts (techniques of production)' that are the elements that must be injected into an underdeveloped economy in order to give it a dynamic character ([30]).

Professor Hicks has also remarked that 'the reduction of all improvements to the investment of capital is a bias and that it can lead one far astray'. 'I think', says Hicks, 'that it has led to error in relation to underdeveloped countries the error of supposing that all those countries need is capital expenditure — of some sort or other — and that the only question which arises is to find ways by which that expenditure should be financed. Yet there is in fact no guarantee that capital expenditure will help the development of the country significantly or even at all'. He thinks, therefore, 'that we do need some way of correcting the excessive emphasis that has been laid upon capital expenditure as such'. And he goes on to say: 'We can allow the investment of capital to remain in the centre of the picture; but we must insist, while we do so, that economic growth is not merely a matter of investment as such but of investment in ways that are sufficiently productive' ([31]).

Interesting in this connection also is the distinction made by Richard R. Goode between what he calls 'physical capital' and 'human capital'. By 'physical capital' he means 'land, structures, durable equipment and commodity stocks'; under 'human capital' he includes 'knowledge, skills, attitudes, aptitudes and other acquired traits that 'contribute to production'. He finds that 'human capital is nearly always omitted from statistics of capital formation and, what is more serious, is often neglected in thinking about development and in formal development plans'. He goes on to say: 'Although both physical capital and human capital are essential for progress, human capital must

([30]) Theodore W. Schultz, *The Economic Test in Latin America,* Bulletin n° 35, N.Y. School of Industrial and Labour Relations, Cornell University, 1956.

([31]) J. H. Hicks, *Essays in World Economics,* Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 175-177.

be accorded priority in the sense that a certain minimum of it is a prerequisite to successful use of physical capital'. He concludes with the remark: 'Experience has led to the opinion that many underdeveloped countries do not have the capacity to absorb large amounts of physical capital even when it can be obtained from abroad on favorable terms... Rapid growth requires large investments in both physical and human capital. A properly balanced development program should make provision for both and should attempt to select projects that promise roughly equal rates of return on the two forms of capital' ([32]).

One thing that must never be forgotten is that a well-balanced development such as will provide for the integration of technical and economic progress in the whole social and cultural life of the underdeveloped countries in order to prevent social disorganization in these countries, is a vastly complicated problem — a problem for which a real solution can be arrived at only gradually.

([32]) Richard B. Goode, *Adding to the stock of physical and human capital,* in *American Economic Review,* vol. XLIX, May 1959, n° 2, pp. 147-150.

A. NEVETT, S. J.

Population and Resources in India

The purpose of this article is to try and outline the problem as regards population-resources which India has to face during the next few decades. The moral problems, which so obviously arise from the situation described, are only hinted at. Once a clear picture of conditions has been obtained, it should be easier to see what practical and applicable solutions should be supplied.

In estimating the relation between India's economic resources and population growth, the primary difficulty is a paucity of adequate statistics. Both as regards demographic and economic data India has a long way to go to achieve the detailed accuracy found in most western countries. Owing to this factor, statements about the present or future situation in the country are necessarily approximations or even, in some cases, hypotheses. However, sufficient reliable data has been gathered to allow us to discern certain trends and to draw definite conclusions.

Population Growth

The present: After experiencing a high birth and death rate over a number of centuries, India is now entering on the demographic phase of high birth rates and low death rates. Demographic behaviour seems to lead us to expect a fairly long continuation of this phenomenon before the birth rate begins to fall. In Ceylon, for instance, death rates have fallen since 1921 to below 10 per thousand (Belgium, 1958, 12.1). The Cen-

sus of India, 1951, puts the population at 356.9 millions (Mid-year, 1957, official estimate, 392 millions). Demographers disagree, not so much with the figure for the total population, but with the vital statistics that go with it. There are sound reasons for holding that official returns underestimate both birth and dealth rates (1).

For 1951, the Census estimate is, per 1000, birth rate, 39.9; death rate, 27.4; K. Davis (2) gives: birth rate, 43.8, death rate 31.6; A. J. Coale & E. M. Hoover, (3) birth rate 43.1, death rate 30.9. More recent sample surveys confirm the higher birth rate (4) thought there are happy signs of a slight lowering of the very high death rate. The rate of growth for 1921-51 was about 1.25 per cent (1951: gross reproduction rate, 2.49; net rate, 1.25); it is not, contrary to sensational propaganda, extraordinarely high (U.S.A., 1950-58, 1.69).

But this moderate rate of growth is due to a high death rate. The official estimate for life expectancy of 32.45 years (1941-51) can be accepted, but the official infant mortality rate for the first year of life, 183 per 1000, is probably too low. Coale and Hoover estimate it to be 225 per 1000 — statistics with frightful moral implications (5).

Whereas density is moderate (about 300 per sq.mile) and while some prosperous western countries have a density al-

(1) A. Ghosh, *The Trend of the Birth rate in India, 1911-50* in *Population Studies,* X, n° 1, holds that the registration of births has so declined that the last census was worse than that of 30 years ago and shows a rate of omission of 64 per cent.

(2) Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan,* Princeton Univ. Press, 1951.

(3) *Population Growth and Economic Development in Low-Income Countries,* Princeton Univ. Press, 1958.

(4) The National Sample Survey, 1958, gives a preliminary estimate of 1.94 per cent as the current rate of population growth.

(5) According to R. Pressat, *La population de la Chine et son économie,* in *Population,* 1958, n° 4, China has a better record than India: with a birth rate of at least 40 per 1000 in urban areas, China has an average of life of 55 years, a mortality rate below 10 per 1000 and an urban infant mortality rate below 50 per 1000, Canton showing up as well as Paris in this respect. If these statistics are reliable, there are further implications for comparison with India's way of life.

most double that of India's, 70 per cent of India's population is crammed into the Gangetic plain and the coastal areas — one-third of the total surface — with the result that one per cent of the world's territory contains 13 per cent of the world's population ([6]). The density of population depending on agriculture is about three times as high as that of Europe.

The future: Projections of future growth are based on the usual previsions of fertility being unchanged, or partly reduced, or much reduced. The projections of Coale and Hoover have been given wide publicity. They are as follows, for 1951-86: fertility ([7]) unchanged, 775 millions; fertility reduced by 50 per cent between 1966-81, 634 millions; fertility reduced by 50 per cent, 1956-86, 589 millions. Henry and Pressat ([8]) come to a somewhat similar conclusion: with unchanged fertility the population will be, 1986, 743 million or an increase of 92 per cent in 30 years; with an immediate and rapid decrease in fertility, in 1986 the population will be 615 million or an increase of 59 per cent. Given the slowness with which century-old customs change and taking into consideration the inertia and fatalism of the masses, it is most unlikely that fertility will decline 50 per cent between 1956-1986. That it should begin to decline 50 per cent after 1966 is also doubtful. To do so, something in the nature of the demographic revolution that is taking place in Japan would have to be repeated in India. And the deplorable measures used for this revolution would not, at present, receive wide acceptance in India. Despite full governmental support — India was the first government that officially organized family planning — the effects on the birth rate of family planning propaganda are minimal. Nor is it likely that during the next three decades the ill-defined effect of industrialization will substantially lower the birth rate.

In regards to India, the example of a recent projection for her neighbour, Ceylon, is instructive. Owing to an extensive health programme, mortality has rapidly fallen: death rate per 1000,

([6]) Cf. J. Beaujeu-Garnier, *Géographie de la Population*, Paris, 1956, 1958, Vol. 11, p. 369.

([7]) Fertility means the result of reproductive behaviour.

([8]) *Le Tiers Monde*, Paris, P.U.F., 1956.

1946-49, 14.8; 1956, 9.8 (India, official, 1950-54, 27.4, Canada, 1957, 8.3). Ceylon's life expectancy, 1954, was 60.3 males, 59.4 females. The 1956 population was 9,375,000. In 1981, with fertility unchanged, population will be 20,701,000; if fertility falls 5 per cent every 5 years, from 1961, population will reach 19,508,000, and if there is a fall of ten per cent over the same period, then the final population will be 18,424,000. These projections bring out the mechanism at work in the vital revolution of a country and would seem to be applicable to India, which is also now entering on a phase of low death rates and high birth rates. Taking the lowest projection, Ceylon's population doubles itself in about 25 years. If India can bring about similar health reforms, then a similar doubling of its population in a generation is possible, and the projection of 775 millions for 1986 is not unreasonable. According or not as official statistics are accepted, the present rate of Indian growth would be 1.3 per cent (about 5 million annual increase), or 2 per cent (about 8 million annual increase). The latter rate of growth has the confirmation of some sample surveys and falls between the two extremes given in the projections cited above ([9]).

It is not possible to delay further on the many other aspects displayed by Indian vital statistics but one other factor that has great influence on economic growth must be mentioned. As compared with 'advanced' countries, underdeveloped lands have a lower percentage of their population in the economically active group, 15-64 years, and a higher percentage in the non-productive group, below 15 years. Some idea of the economic loss is conveyed by comparing the gross and net reproductive rates: India (1941) gross 2.76; net, 1.3 — over half the population lost; U.S.A. (whites), 1942, gross 1,27, net, 1,19. G. Gosh estimated that before 1939, 45 per cent of India's population died before reaching the age of 15. Comparing India, 1921-31, with New Zealand, H. Belshaw ([10]) remarks: 'Roughly the same

([9]) That the birth rate may rise even higher is seen by a comparison with the Indian birth rate in British Guiana, wich was, 1951, 51 per 1000 (France, 1958, 18.1, Netherlands, 22.2) with a gross reproduction rate of 3.6.

([10]) *Population Growth and Levels of Consumption*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1956, p. 134.

proportion in New Zealand reached age 70 as reached age 15 in India... Of the 54,000 (survivors from birth out of 100,000) aged 15 years in India, under 15,000 would still be living at age 60. Quite apart from differences in efficiency the typical New Zealand worker would make a much bigger contribution to production during his lifetime'. In India, 1951, of the age group 15-64, only 33 per cent are 40 years and above (Sweden 47 per cent), indicating that after 40 years of age, a lower percentage are working than in western countries. To bring out the handicap in another way, in India, 1951, there were 71 persons of 'dependent ages' (below 15 years) per 100 persons of 'working ages' (U.S.A. 1950, 55 per 100) ([11]). In addition to the above handicap there is also the higher expenditure on education, schools, hospitals, etc., with little adequate return owing to a high mortality rate. When assessing prospects of economic progress these statistics should be borne in mind.

Economic Growth

Agriculture: India being predominantly agricultural, the source of many problems is found in the rural area. Owing to heavy population pressure, more and more land, which could be used for cash crops, is being employed for food crops only. Since the safe margin of food supplies is narrow, and closely connected with the strength or weakness of the monsoon, there is always a danger, in turning to cash crops, that there will be a sudden food shortage. There is also the danger of a slump attendant on a monoculture.

A recent inquiry into the food situation reports that the current (1959) annual production is 70 million tons. At the present rate of progress, food production in 1966 will be 82 million tons. A Ford Foundation commission estimates that in 1966, given population growth, 110 million tons will be required annually. There will thus be an annual deficit of 28 million tons. This calculation is based on a minimum daily requirement of

([11]) *Population Bulletin of the United Nations*, n° 5, p. 30.

15*ozs* cereals, 3*ozs* pulses — a poor allowance by any standard. The commission thinks it impossible to obtain 28 million tons annually from abroad. Moreover there is the problem of how to pay for it. The only solution would seem to be an agricultural revolution which would produce enough food to keep pace with population growth.

The *Eastern Economist* considers it extremely doubtful as to whether the Government will achieve its promised 80.5 million tons annually by March, 1961. The high increase rate aimed at, 7.5 per cent per annum, this journal points out, is two and a half times as much as the rate in the recent past. Furthermore, the same review continues, irrigation is already well behind schedule: an additional 5.9 million acres by the end of 1959, as against 15.7 million acres by March 1961. Of the 3900 seed farms planned to be producing nucleus seed during the first three years of the Second Plan (1956-59), 40 per cent have still to be started. Furthermore, the hope of a country-wide network of co-operatives and the decentralization of authority to panchayats (village government), in three years, seems chimerical. The official Indian attitude is frankly optimistic, counting on a doubling of agricultural output in 20 years while population increases only about 30 per cent. Coale and Hoover, with some restrictions, share this optimism as regards agricultural output. The pessimistic thought that springs to mind is that since a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate may double a population in thirty years, then the advantage of doubling agricultural production would be swallowed.

India's agricultural production is notoriously low — one-third of Japan's — and must be improved. It is thought that output could be doubled on the condition that 50 million farming families change their methods ! There is no clear evidence as to whether, during the last two decades, yields of food crops have increased or declined. Whatever the thruth of the matter, there can have been little change either way. There is a slight fall off in net area sown per head. With the rise in population, more people work on the land, but, so far, with no real increase in productivity since there has not been a proportionate increase of land to population nor any marked improvement in methods.

Since the greater part of the population is rural, urbanization will not affect rural population for a long time to come. Indeed, from 1900 to 1951 the percentage engaged in agriculture has remained about the same, absolute numbers being considerably larger.

Experience has shown that large-scale mechanization is no solution in densely populated areas. Such success as has been achieved by Community Projects — and some have made considerable gains — has been brought about by simple investments, utilizing a low capital and high labour intensity. Improvements have followed 'from improved techniques associated with *comparatively simple and inexpensive capital investments* in machinery, wells, hand pumps, fertilizers, and improved seeds. They were associated with the development of co-operatives, literacy classes, and the organization of the people for capital formation by the utilization of voluntary labour' ([12]). Since in Asia farming is rather a way of life than a business, transformation will be slow and certainly will not be achieved without conviction on the part of the peasant. So far the most promising reforms are those brought about by the Community Projects, and these may do voluntarily what totalitarianism strives to achieve by force. Investment in improving farming may not turn out the best results for national revenue, but it does give the best returns for the needs of the majority, who are obliged to spend a very high percentage of their income on food ([13]).

Industrialization: In 1901, out of a population of 235 million,

([12]) H. Belshaw, *op.cit.*, pp. 106-107.

([13]) It is difficult to compare different levels of consumption in developed and underdeveloped countries. M. K. Bennet, *Disparities in Consumption Levels*, in *American Economic Review*, Sept. 1951, has made a serious attempt. Taking selected weighted comparisons, with U.S.A. at 100, U.K. is 76.6, India, 16.8, China, 13.8. The statistics refer to pre-war years but the conclusion that India's level of consumption is only about one-fifth of America's holds good today and is confirmed by personal experience. Such statistics speak for themselves and only point up the remarks in *The State of Food and Agriculture* (F.A.O., Rome, 1958) on the paradoxical situation that has arisen where the «more developed countries» have burdensome surpluses while the «less developed countries», where demand is rapidly increasing, cannot obtain enough surpluses to meet their needs.

146 million were dependent on agriculture; in 1951, 250 million, i. e., an addition of 104 million, were dependent on agriculture. In view of this increase, measures to keep the absolute number engaged in agriculture from increasing further are to be welcomed. It is to industry that one looks to find employment for the unemployed and under-employed in the rural areas.

Some estimate of the situation can be drawn from such data as are available over the past twelve years. Like so much other statistical material, information as to economic progress is not completely reliable ([14]); some authorities contradict the other, but the estimates do give the general trend - advance on retreat. During 1948-54, according to one estimate, national income rose 22.8 per cent; per capita income rose 15 per cent. The difference is explained by an increase of 6.6 per cent (some estimates are higher) in population. Over the same period there was an increase in 6 per cent in the index of wholesale prices. Therefore the real increase in national income was only 16.5 per cent, and in per capita income, 9 per cent. But by the end of the First Five Year Plan, 1956, there was a rise of national income in real terms of 18.4 per cent, and per capita annual income had increased from Rs. 250 (1951-52) to Rs. 294 (1956-57) at current prices ([15]). But this is only one-third of Ceylon's per capita income and still one of the world's lowest, a fact that should constantly be borne in mind even when speaking of doubling the income.

According to D.K. Rangnekar ([16]), 1957 per head income is still, probably, below pre-war level, at real prices; total agricultural production is also, probably below pre-war level. He considers that the reported increase in food production is due to more accurate statistics and to favourable monsoons; that urban unemployment is growing and population on the rural sector greater than ever; that rural income per head is one-half of

([14]) Many reports give percentage increases in production but fail to correlate them with population and rise in the cost of living. In such cases gains have to be scaled down to account for these factors. The Planning Commission's Report (1956) however, allows for a 12.5 per cent population increase every decade. This is something but not sufficient since the increase is round 2 per cent per annum.

([15]) $ 1 is roughly Rs. 4.75.

([16]) *Poverty and Capital Development in India*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1958.

that of Ceylon, and one-third of Malaya's, and that more is spent on ceremonies than the aggregate of national savings. An altogether dismal picture. To break through the impasse, the author thinks that savings must rise from 6-7 per cent of national income (already realized in the First Plan) to at least 8-9 per cent.

Considering that the taking off point is a very low per capita income, future prospects are not very encouraging. It is reckoned that if the birth rate is halved, then in 1986 the per capita income will be up by 75 per cent. But if the birth rate remains unchanged *and* all the Plans reach their target, then there will be an increase of only 15 per cent. A. Sauvy ([17]), taking as an example a European country with a natural increase in population of 6 per 1000, calculates that the cost of raising families, of education and of public health and of 'demographic investment' i. e., paying the extra costs of population growth, amounts to ten per cent of the national revenue. Taking a birth rate of 40 and a death rate of 27, the Indian rate of natural increase is 13 per 1000, twice that of Sauvy's example and so would, on the same scale, consume about 20 per cent of the national income. Since it is so be expected that improved health facilities will soon lower the death rate to 18 per 1000, the problem of how to meet the rising costs of the below 15 age-group becomes even more acute. The same author calculates that a 2.5 per cent population increase requires an investment of 10 per cent of the national income to *maintain* the standard of living, plus 6 per cent investment to cover the cost of raising children, plus 1 per cent for health and public education, making 17 per cent in all. Granted that India has not yet reached a 2.5 per cent population increase — though it soon will — and that, since children do some work at a fairly early age, the investment rate can be lowered, a lower rate of 15 per cent investment would, according to Sauvy, only raise the standard of living by 1.25 per cent a year, taking nearly 50 years to double the standard of living ([18]).

([17]) *De Malthus à Mao Tsé-Toung,* Paris, Ed. Denoël, 1958, p. 121.

([18]) J. Tinbergen, *The Design of Development,* Oxford Univ. Press, 1958,

Employing very tenuous data, the First Five Year Plan assumed- a capital-output ratio of 3 to 1. Up to this period (1951) national output had scarcely kept abreast of the estimated 1.25 per cent annual population growth, net investment being 5 per cent of national income. Maybe factors making for a high capital-output ratio can be offset by the substitution of labour for capital since the former is cheap. But even *if* a 3 to 1 ratio has been attained, it is problematic whether it can be kept up: increase in agricultural production has been considerably helped by good monsoons, and by the unused capacity of many industries. Furthermore, welfare facilities, especially housing ([19]), a 'consumer' item, will inevitably lower investment capacities. Against this dark outlook is the light cast by Professor Rostow ([20]) showing up the hope that with a capital-output ratio of about 3 to 1, and an investment of more than 10 per cent of its national income, a country would keep ahead of any probable population growth. India's present problem is to keep up the advance made towards this goal.

Unemployment: Great expectations are focussed on the Five Year Plans as a solution to chronic unemployment. And it is as regards unemployment that the 'statistical blackout' is most complete. Returns from employment exchanges are useless. The jobless know that hopes from those sources are so slim that only a small percentage register there.

'Idle labour', i. e., unemployed, and underemployed is said to be 45 million (one-third of the adult working population). At the commencement of the Second Plan, 1956, 15 million new jobs had to be found to remove unemployment. The Second Plan aims at creating 8 million new jobs by 1961 ([21]). This leaves 7 million unemployed to be carried over to the Third

speaking in general, considers that an annual investment of at least 12 per cent of national income is required to break through the vicious circle of poverty and unemployment.

([19]) In 1951, there was an average of 6 persons per unit, a unit, in many cases, being a single room. By 1960, the ratio must be about 7 persons per unit.

([20]) Rostow on Growth, in *The Economist* Aug. 15-22, 1959.

([21]) C. N. Vakil & P. R. Brahmanand, *Planning for an Expanding Economy,*

Plan, 1961-66. The addition to the labour force during this Plan is estimated at 14 million ([22]). Even if the Third Plan creates employment for 12 million — some optimistically estimate 14 million new jobs — this still leaves 9 million unemployed in 1966. Whichever statistics one accepts the over-all picture is that the Plans do not substantially reduce the absolute number of un employed.

The National Sample Survey (14th Report) ([23]) provides some further details: of the population, 44.4 per cent from the working-age group in both rural and urban sectors. Of this group, the 15-24 age-group constitutes 70.3 per cent; the 65 and over group has 31.6 per cent of the total working population. Comments the *Eastern Economist* (17.7.59): 'it is a serious blot upon our economic system that our people are so destitute that over a third of them are employed after the age of 65'. According to the same *Survey*, 69.4 per cent of the rural sector and 78.4 per cent of the urban sector enjoy full employment. But these prospects are immediately marred by the information that half the labour time is not used so that of the 'gainfully employed' only 43.6 per cent of the rural and 62 per cent of the urban sector have 25 or more working days in a month. Underemployment shows up in wages: the average, for both sexes, is, in the rural area, Rs. 37 per month, and, in urban areas, Rs. 65 per month ([24]).

Health: It is not sufficiently noticed that an improvement in

Vora, Bombay, 1956, think that 4 million new jobs would be a more objective estimate.

([22]) Population at the end of the Second Plan, 1961, is officially reckoned at 400 million, and in 1966 at 450,700,000. There is a probable underestimation of about 20 million.

([23]) The *Sample Survey* was taken in 1952 and in 1953-54 but only published in the middle of 1959 !

([24]) Making the very generous allowance that the cost of living in India is five times less than that of the U.S.A., and ignoring the fact that owing to frequent sickness, unemployment and underemployment, many do not work full time, even then these wages are the American equivalent, i.e., multiplying them by five, of $ 9.50 a week in the rural sector, and of $ 18.75 a week in the urban sector. Most families have only one steady earner and there is an average of 6 children per family.

health and nutrition is a very important factor for economic progress. How many man-years of labour are lost in India due to sickness is anybody's guess. The figure must be astronomical. Malaria alone is said to cause a loss of 20-40 days per year for each sick person — and there are millions of malaria cases. A heavy mortality before the working-age is reached deprives the country of the manpower which it should have, and on which expenditure has been made during the formative years, with little or no economic returns. The loss of manpower is given by the official statistics showing, that at 20 years of age, 44 per cent of the young generation is dead. A decline in dependency and mortality would be a welcome asset; moreover, better health would raise the standard of workmanship. Sickly, undernourished workmen cannot be expected to produce high quality work.

W. Vogt (*Road to Survival*) has accused these who improve hygienic conditions of acting like Pilate: setting the stage for disaster and washing their hands of results. He fears the effects of improved health. He is well answered in the following terms: 'These benefits of better education and more productive agriculture and industry have been obvious social needs for a long time. But they cannot be much developed in a community where disease is unchecked. Also, it is the absence of public health, with resultant high death rates, which has fostered the growth of social systems responsible for high birth rates. For these reasons, among others, the problem of population densities will not be solved by neglecting to suppress disease at home and abroad... And it is reasonable to believe that we can bring about the necessary social changes more quickly and more thoroughly where control of disease is most effective, where our specialized practice is best developed. Of course, one cannot expect a perfect timing of effort which would completely avoid population pressure.

The world needs today not more disease but more vision' ([25]).

([25]) P. F. Russell, *Public Health Practice and Population Pressure in the Tropics*, in *American Journal of Medicine*, vol. 1, n° 2. Quoted by S. Swaroop,

Lord Boyd Orr's reflexions, in *The White Man's Dilemma,* are worth pondering over: 'The aggression of hunger and poverty which causes the premature death of two-thirds of the world is a greater menace to health and happiness than either Communist or Capitalist aggression. Apart from moral principles, intelligent self-interest should induce the highly industrialized countries to co-operate in abolishing hunger and poverty...'

Conflicting Views: How far national feelings influence hopes and theories about future economic growth would be difficult to ascertain, but, generally speaking, with some notable exceptions, Indian economists are more optimistic than their foreign confreres ([26]). Professor H. Leibenstein has expounded the theory (*Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth*) that if a marked increase in income, investment and output per capita is not achieved, a 'stable equilibrium' is produced in which economic growth is swallowed up by population expansion and in order not to get bogged down in a low-income stagnation, and to overcome the 'critical minimum' of effort, a sudden spurt is needed. P.R. Brahmananda in 'The Critical Minimum Effort' Thesis: A Critical Appraisal, *(Artha Vijnana,* Vol. 1, No. 2) contests the necessity of a sudden burst to break out of the impasse and holds that the 'all-or-none element in the economic take-off of under-developed economies' is not proved and that a continuous *slow* progress is possible. So far, the evidence is not conclusive on either side. There has been a slight economic improvement

Growth of Population and Public Health Programmes in Asia and the Far East, in *Population Bulletin,* U.N. n° 5. H. Belshaw, *op.cit.,* p. 138, holds similar views.

([26]) N.V. Sovani does not follow the crowd: the nationalist (Indian) leaders argued that there was nothing wrong with the country «at the population end. India was a land of infinite and rich natural resources which could support a much larger population at a considerable higher standard of living... It was foreign rule that was preventing this from happening. This set the theme for numberless books on the Indian population problem by Indian economists and sociologists aimed at showing that India was not overpopulated... Many Indian leaders today still broadly subscribe to views noted above». *The Problem of Fertility Control in India,* in *Approaches to Problems of High Fertility in Agrarian Societies,* Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1952, pp. 65-66.

but whether it will continue at a pace rapid enough to keep on making steady gains is difficult to say. What is not difficult to say is that if a sudden spurt forward were made, it would give the necessary impetus for rapid economic growth. The situation would then be far better than are the immediate prospects, based as they are, on a slow and painful growth. Nor can there be any dispute on the need of an increase in the savings rate so that capital formation proceeds faster than population growth ([27]).

The shortage of capital and the abundance of cheap labour must make one plump for investments of low capital intensity rather than for the highly technical but capital-consuming methods of the West. Here, perhaps more than elsewhere, the need of re-thinking and of adaption is felt. Experience from the Community Projects shows that the best results are obtained by making improvements on native tools and machines rather than by the employment of expensive machinery — which is often unused for want of effective maintenance.

Growth and Progress

India starts off the race like a heavily handicapped runner. The handicap is multiform: unemployment, a high rate of sickness and mortality, undernourishment, meagre financial resources — to mention only some. While the running proceeds, there must be a continual glancing over the shoulder to see whether population is not passing ahead.

According to the theory of vital revolution, there is a gradual change from high birth and death rates of a low-income agrarian economy, via economic improvement, and, later, through advanced medical practice, to a low birth and death rate of an advanced economy. But, historically, the low birth rate of this last stage has been obtained largely by contraception or through other practices morally objectionable to Catholics. We are thus

([27]) The Planning Commission's proposal to raise the proportion of investment to national income from 5 per cent (1950-51) to 20 per cent (1969) is surely, to say the least, optimistic.

faced with the question as to whether this vital revolution would evolve in the manner it does without the aid of such practices. This is an important question for overpopulated, underdeveloped countries. If it could be shown that a spread of education, industrialization, a higher standard of living, and some imponderables that go with an advanced culture, *of themselves,* reduce the birth rate, then there would be an effective answer to the statement that contraception is the only solution. Unfortunately, so far no apodictical argument can be brought forth to give more than a shadowy proof of such a slowing down of the birth rate. It is true that many 'advanced' nations have a low birth rate, but since they are those very nations where contraception and abortion are widely practised ([28]), there is no irrefutable proof that a higher standard of living, more advanced culture, etc., lower the birth rate.

A wholesale acceptance of this thesis would be a very welcome solution to a complicated problem. However, though there are some snags to tear holes in it, the proposition does manage to keep afloat. One of the chief snags is that in a densely populated country with a high birth rate there is a danger of decreasing returns to labour. To repeat once more, the antidote must be found in a rate of investment higher than population increase, a greater proportion of income must be saved, the 'working-age group' should be in a favourable ratio to total population and an all-round improvement in efficiency has to take place. This is asking for much but it can be accomplished. Professor Hagen ([29]) is more optimistic than many economists over the possibility of population growth pushing economic progress along ahead of itself. He points out that in the peasant societies of western Europe per capita income rose *after* an in-

([28]) Along with other defects, J. de Castro's theory of a high protein intake lowering fertility and the reverse proposition, falls into the error of ignoring the fact that precisely those nations which have a high protein intake include those which use contraception the most. And if a high protein intake lowers fertility, how explain the high birth rate, for instance, of the French Canadians ? Certainly not by alleging a low protein intake.

([29]) *Population and Economic Growth,* in *The American Economic Review,* June, 1959.

crease in population growth. Using S. Kuznets' recent compilation, Professor Hagen cites the example of the relation between population and national production during the last hundred years in 17 countries. The evidence from their growth is so interesting in regard to India that a few conclusions are well worth quoting.

'In each country, the death rate fell as nutrition, health care, etc., improved. The rate of population growth would have approached the biological maximum if birth rates had simply remained at their previous level as income rose.' What happened ?

'1. In no country except the United States and Canada — where vast empty lands cried out to be filled — did rise in income stimulate population growth remotely approaching that which Malthusian theory indicates rising income should induce.

'2. In no country did the rate of population growth approach the rate of growth in aggregate output'.

'3. In England, over the hundred years, aggregate income rose 15 per cent per decade while population rose at 6 per cent per decade.' And E. Hagen concludes:

'The evidence thus indicates not merely that the 'Malthusian' result did not occur generally, but that it did not occur anywhere. Instead, birth rates followed death rates downward long before a maximum rate of population increase had been reached, and both continued downward until they reached secular minima ([30]). Professor Hagen's model 'suggests the decline in the death rate may lead after a lag to a decline in birth rates, even though per capita income is falling'. And one of his conclusions offers consoling prospects for India: 'In the countries of the world where population has grown the fastest during the past 150 years, the advance in technology has far outstripped it, and per capita income has steadily risen. There is reason to assume that this relationship between technological progress and population growth will hold true in the future for the entire world' ([31]).

([30]) *op.cit.* p. 315.
([31]) *ibid.* p. 326.

W. F. Wertheim ([32]) has some reflections on the situation in Indonesia which are applicable to India. He holds that overpopulation in Java — areas with considerably below 300 per sq. mile are held to be underpopulated — is due to an agricultural system unadapted to population pressure. 'The remedy... would not be to drain off population excess, as a constant removal of a yearly surplus of over one million would be a superhuman task. Neither would birth control in itself be sufficient to remedy the situation, as it would not deal with the roots of the evil'. What is needed is a thorough change in the economic system: large-scale industrialization and a modernized agriculture. The people have been accustomed te 'patrimonial bureaucracy' (Max Weber), i. e., to decentralization and power restricted by tradition; loyalty (and taxes) being local. Anti-colonialism provided some unity, but inner cohesion, on a national level, is still weak. One thinks of the Bengalis, Mahrattas, Tamils and others whose adhesion is rather to their state than to India as such — a minority of 'progressives' being the exception. A multi-party system does not work well because this presupposes some well defined national issues to choose among while now interest is local. Because of this tendency Asian leaders have a leaning towards a strong government: a dictatorship or communism. India has certainly got far greater adhesion and national unity than Indonesia but it would be foolish to deny that India cannot learn valuable lessons from Indonesian experience.

It is a common axiom that the result of the economic contest between India and China, using contrasting political systems, will decide whether Asia is to be communist or not. Overlooking the fact that economics will not be the only decisive element, so far the balance seems to be tilted in China's favour. Professor W. Malenbaum ([33]) has, as far as statistics are available and can be 'tested', compared the economic development of the two

([32]) *Sociological Aspects of Inter-Island Migration in Indonesia,* in *Population Studies,* Vol. XII, n° 3.

([33]) *India and China: Contrasts in Development Performance,* in *The American Economic Review,* June, 1959. Indian data is the author's estimate, that of China chiefly from W. W. Hollister, *China's Gross National Product and Social Accounts 1950-1957,* Glencoe, Ill., 1958.

countries. He gives the following comparisons: annual rate of growth of real income, 1950-1959, China, 10.5 per cent, (at least); India, 3.5 per cent. Percentage increase in gross product, China (1953-57), 51.0 per cent; India (1951-56), 19 per cent. In 1952, Chinese agricultural per capita product was 15 per cent above India's and it is thought that the gap has not closed in India's favour. For 1950-57, agricultural output rose 25-30 per cent in China, 15-20 per cent in India. The Chinese rice yield per acre is twice that of India. The conclusion from these dry statistics is that 'The present analysis thus indicates economic developments overwhelmingly favourable to the Chinese effort, both with respect to actual performance and to potential for further growth' ([34]).

Some Aids Towards a Solution

There is no need to stress the need for industrialization. It is the main hope of finding jobs for the millions unemployed or underemployed in the agricultural sector. Given the mentality in the country there is no danger of this point being overlooked. Indeed, criticism has been levelled that too great an emphasis has been put, after the communist model, on the spectacular in industry and that more small-scale industries would better meet the needs of the country. But despite the glamour attached to large manufacturing concerns, the key industry is agriculture. It employs and supports most people and it must be made efficient to meet the requirements of a growing population, to improve nutritional standards and raise the income of agriculturists so that they can buy the products of industry.

([34]) *op.cit.*, p. 298. Chinese statistics are mostly up to 1958. The Chinese Government has admitted that the 1958 statistics were grossly exaggerated and, as a result major targets for 1959 are slashed up to 55 per cent. The grain target is lowered 47 per cent, the cotton target 55 per cent and steel production by one-third. What the famous backyard furnaces produced was not steel at all. But in spite of this debacle and China's use of underpaid and forced labour, its economic progress will weigh heavily with those still confused as to the real issues concerning communism.

Emigration: Some relief could be found in emigration. There is both the right to and the space for migration. But it would be illusory to imagine that such a measure could give anything but temporary relief. Even given favourable political conditions and absence of colour prejudice, what nations would be able, for any length of time, to absorb the annual growth of 5 to 8 millions of Indians ?

Foreign aid: More hope is to be placed in foreign aid through grants, loans, investment, technical skills and the like. The handicap of substantially raising the standard of living is too heavy for India to overcome alone and aid in some form is essential ([35]). Avowedly, this is a touchy subject, especially in relation to a newly independent nation. All Indians do not think foreign aid a good thing. D. R. Gadgil believes that large investments strengthen monopoly and sow the seeds of discontent and conflict. And N.V. Sovani considers that giving aid for political and military considerations is a mere stop-gap that does nothing to prevent the spread of communism ([36]). Though a minority opinion, it contains more than a grain of truth. It is also a warning that aid must come in a form inoffensive to national feelings. There seems to be a general agreement that technical aid, especially the training of Indian technicians so that the country can effectively run its own industries, is the most acceptable form foreign aid can take.

Education: Probably the most important measure of all is to make the whole nation conscious of national needs and ready to cooperate fully with the government. Socio-psychological changes are of great importance to overcome the barriers to economic progress. The caste system, communalism and provincialism dam up the stream and prevent the rapid flow that

([35]) Everyone is familiar with comparisons of how a small percentage of the amount spent on armaments would improve the lot of the underdeveloped countries. It is estimated that $ 18 bilion would raise the national revenue by 7 per cent per annum and that this amount is but a fraction of the military expenditure of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

([36]) Cf. *Planning of Post-War Development in India.* Poona, 1951.

is now an absolute requisite. If international aid and technical assistance programmes are to be effective, then a renaissance in organizations, institutions and mores must be set afoot. Otherwise, the effects of outside intervention will be but ephemeral. The community projects have made people see that self-help is possible. This mentality must be developed and spread until there is nation-wide enthusiasm for innovation and betterment. New methods have to be adopted in industry; but this involves taking risks, which will not be done unless the people are, through education, made aware that the risks are well worth taking.

In changing the economic life of the nation there is the serious danger that the abolition of older institutional forms may spell the ruin of the culture itself. Gandhi had no illusions about the dangers inherent in a machine-minded civilization. Ideally, it might have been better to have kept to his village autonomy, to his plain living and high thinking. But for better or worse the choice of rapid industrialization has been made. It is to be hoped that the breaking up of the traditional modes of life will not prove the breeding ground for discontent, hatred and disruption. This would not happen were traditional religious values to retain their hold. Whether they will do so or not is an open question; it would be surprising, however, were they not weakened.

Rational Control of Fertility: Both because this aspect has been excellently treated elsewhere ([37]) and because moral considerations are secondary to this article, it is not necessary to elaborate this point. But it is important to draw attention to it as an essential component of the whole picture. Sufficient data has been given to show that population growth, to say the least, gives rise to serious difficulties, and that, under the present circumstances, the country would be better off economically were population growth less rapid. In India, the obligation of parents to provide for their children is not called in question. But the

([37]) S. DE LESTAPIS, S. J., *Limitation des naissances,* Spes. Paris, 1959, especially part III, La Position Catholique.

reciprocal duty to foresee, *before* having children, how they are to be fed, clothed, educated and provided afterwards with employment, all in a manner fitting to human dignity, is far too often neglected. The result of this negligence is the pitiable sight of children who are denied even the bare essentials of life and about whose future, if they survive, one cannot but be apprehensive. Doubtless, part of the obligation falls on the body social to provide those conditions in which it is possible to bring up a family, healthily and decently. But this fact does not abolish the individual responsibility of parents to foresee how they will provide for their offspring, nor should a form of fatalism be made an excuse for using sex irrationally.

Later Marriages: Another reform that would help towards a legitimate fall in the birth rate is later marriages. Taking averages, India's couples are among the youngest of the world and a large percentage of them are married, contrary to the law, in their very early teens. A substantial raising of the age of marriage, say, to around 21 years of age, would certainly make itself felt in a lowering of the birth rate ([38]).

Conclusion

From what has been said it would seem to follow, not that India's economic situation will continually deteriorate as a result of growing population pressure, but that it is not likely to show any substantial improvement in the near future. Given the rapid rate of population growth and the slow rate of economic progress, there is a danger of short-term stagnation with all its attendant miseries. Over the next two or three decades, the differences in India's projected growth show no marked advantage in manpower resulting from a higher rate of growth since the increase will be mostly in the under-fifteen years group. Whereas a rapidly growing population, given plenty of

([38]) *Cf.* the writer's *Too Many of Us?* St. Paul Publications, Allahabad, 1957, pp. 211-12.

room for expansion, has economic and psychological advantages in the long run, in India's case, the short-term prospects show that a slower rate of growth would increase per-consumer income — by as much as 60 per cent, according to Coale and Hoover — if instead of the present rate, fertility were reduced.

To this end, contrary to family planning propaganda, contraceptive practices will be of no avail since, on the avowal of family planners themselves, artificial birth control has received little acceptance among the masses. They admit that before it is widely practised a long period of propaganda is required. Consequently, family planning would be reducing fertility at the very time — say, after a generation — when, if long-term economic plans develop as they should, the country will be on an economic upsurge and will need an increasing population to keep up this impetus ([39]). But the lag, referred to above, between a fall in the death rate and a fall in the birth rate, must produce a large bulge of young people which, while full of promise, will be an extremely heavy burden for a weak economy to bear.

India then requires all the aid she can get to clear the hurdles enumerated above. Once out in the open — and the next generation should reach that position — there seem to be no serious reasons why the country should not enter into an era of prosperity such as it has never before known. What the 'advanced' nations can do is to assist India, in every way acceptable to *both* sides, to weather her present stormy passage.

([39]) Cf. J-M. Albertini, *Croissance démographique et développement économique*, in *Économie et Civilisation*, pp. 53-54, L-J. Lebret *et alii*, Paris, Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1958.

J. A. PONSIOEN

Events and Trends

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Survey of the Problems

A report on events and trends in social development in the post-war period, and their evaluation in accordance with the idea of social justice, confronts us immediately with many problems.

In the political world today, social justice is a recognized concept for regulating the distribution of responsibilities for the sake of the common good. Nevertheless, it is so much a concept of western philosophy that it has been impossible so far to find its equivalent in other ethical systems which at present dominate large non-western cultural areas. No comparative research has yet been made into the norms ruling social behaviour and attitudes to the common good, or into those ruling the distribution of responsibilities for it. Western countries formulate their duties towards developing countries in terms of social justice, but the big question remains: how do these duties fit into the ethical systems of the developing countries ? Or, to put it in another way, when the International Labour Organization draws up socially desirable conventions and gets young governments to ratify them, what purpose in fact does such social legislation serve when economic resources, administrative personnel and organizational capacity are not available ? We are inclined to say none. But is it possible that such legislation, while not providing assistance for individuals, may nevertheless act as an ideal, a symbol, a creed ? The only answer we can give is that we do not know. A report on the relevant literature must point out first of all the large blanks and omissions.

A second problem is: what is to be understood by social development ? When we take a look at the *Report on the World Social Situation* (United Nations, N.Y. 1957, Sales No. 1957, IV. 3) we find the following items listed, in Part I, as «social» problems: growth of population and its social and economic implications (the ones mentioned on p. 24 are all in fact of an economic nature), food and nutrition, education, conditions of work and employment, and, included under this last heading, the very traditional «social problems» such as the employment of women and children, unemployment, wages and consumer prices, and industrial relations. In Part II the central problem is urbanization, with special studies on Africa south of the Sahara, and Latin America. The surprising feature is that the treatment of the problem, which is essentially social, viz. the changing social structures, has been limited to the phenomenon of urbanization (no doubt the most important one). Little or no attention has been paid to the impact on each other of different cultures, to the interaction between western influences, exercised through administrators or other whites living in these countries as well as through university education, and the original native culture and social structures. Nor is any attention given to rural co-operatives or to political parties as agencies for changing social relationships. The reason is evident. The focus of attention is not on what a sociologist would properly call social, but on improving the living conditions of individuals, on the humanitarian aspects rather than on the social — which is a very common confusion in the use of the word «social».

This broad concept is maintained in another important U.N. publication, *International Survey of Programmes of Social Development* (United Nations, N.Y. 1959, Sales No. 59, IV, 2). In addition to the subjects dealt with in the above mentioned Report, we now find housing, special social services, protection and rehabilitation, programmes of rural development and rural community development, as well as approaches by way of administration and research. This report on social policy programmes has to sift out fom all kinds of programmes for improving the living conditions of individuals, a social

policy in a narrower sense, consisting of services for the benefit of those who occupy a weak position in their own society, and thus need special care: the social work services (Chapter VIII). It seems important to mention that in developing countries the latter services are available in the urban centres exclusively, and even there to only a small extent, whereas the western countries are eager to teach them these, and to establish 'schools of social work' with very western social techniques such as case work and group work. A comparison, however, of the second with the third international survey of 'Training for Social Work' issued by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the United Nations in 1955 and the Department of Economic and Social Affairs in 1958 shows a progressive integration of the Social Work approach in the total social policy of the developing countries.

The survey of the social development programmes has been divided according to the already mentioned services. This method has the disadvantage of not making it clear whether, and how, these services are integrated into one common effort to improve human life as a whole. This is also the reason why putting community development programmes side by side with other services makes the reader feel uneasy, because community development in theory and practice is essentially a comprehensive approach. We shall return to this point.

Social versus economic

The biggest problem, however, is the wide extension of the subject under discussion. Many publications are interested primarily in the social preconditions and the consequences of economic or productivity development. Attention is focussed on such social aspects as are dealt with in the U.N. publication *Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Underdeveloped Countries* (N.Y. 1955). Publications of this kind usually point out the obstacles in traditional structures to the introduction of a development process, and the uprooting consequences of it. So this is a rather pessimistic and negative type of litera-

ture. Similarly, a book like *La Belgique et l'aide économique aux pays sous-développés* (1), does not go much further. This book is a product of inter-university co-operation and should — notwithstanding its title — be regarded as a thorough academic study of the problems of development. The part played by Belgium occupies only 100 out of the 530 pages in the book. The first chapter gives an excellent analysis of the features of the status of underdevelopment, its social, political, economic, ethnological and demographic aspects, and reaches a final definition of it as a disequilibrium of the various internal and external structures. When, however, it comes to the study of politics, all the positive factors are of a financial, technical or economic nature, whereas the social factors are negative. There is no search for positive forces in the existing cultures, in the fusion of cultures, or in structures which may be of value in achieving higher standards. This may be due to the rather negative starting-point of the book, which opens with an analysis of underdevelopment, whereas if it began with an analysis of the dynamic forces at work, making the peoples involved become conscious of 'underdevelopment', this would result in a more positive approach.

An important contribution to the study of the social dimension of the development process has been made by the French Social Week at Angers in 1959, the proceedings of which have been published under the title *La Montée des Peuples dans la Communauté humaine* (2). This series of lectures by Catholic Professors bears constantly in mind the fact that the problem has always and everywhere its social, psychological, spiritual and religious implications, as well as important economic and material aspects. It is a very sound study both in its realistic

(1) *La Belgique et l'Aide Économique aux Pays Sous-Développés*, par une Commission d'Ét. Interuniversitaire de l'Inst. Royal des Relations Internationales. Bruxelles & La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff ,1959, 529 p., 460 FB. This book contains an extensive and annotated bibliography of over 300 books and articles on the problems of development.

(2) *La Montée des Peuples dans la Communauté Humaine*. Compte rendu in extenso de la Semaine Sociale d'Angers, juillet 1959. Lyon, Chronique Sociale de France, 1959, in-8, 314 p., 15,75 N.FF.

attitude of situation analysis and in the pointers it gives towards a solution of the problems analysed. Balandier for example indicates clearly the extent to which the economic problems are due to the very socio-cultural situation. Father Lebret points out that much in the tendencies of today's developing countries is not of high moral value — an often neglected truth, which frustrates many well-meaning politicians. Father Francis Houang, a Chinese priest, emphasises the responsibilities of low-income countries towards themselves, as much as those of both developed and underdeveloped countries towards the world community. I cannot mention all 18 lectures or analyse the letter of Cardinal Tardini to the Social Week. My only regret is that as usual the study sticks to principles only, in the social and psychological aspects of development. In economics there are many practical suggestions given and techniques developed; but, for the social implications no study of methods or techniques is offered. M. Delavignette failed to do full justice to his subject. Are not we Catholics too afraid of social techniques because they can be used for evil as well as for good purposes, and so we restrict ourselves to the inspiration of justice and charity ? But we shall never realise our good intentions without such techniques, so long as they only restrict and do not destroy individual freedom.

It may happen — and we must be prepared for it — that the developing sector of a country and its traditional sector will split the society into two separate worlds. Such indeed is the suggestion in Mr Louis Baeck's work, *Economische ontwikkeling en sociale structuur in Belgisch-Kongo* ([3]), which is an excellent theoretical and research study of the Belgian Congo, and actually infers the existence of a dual economy, though in a sense different from that of Baeck's famous distinction. In Mr. Baeck's conception it is not a different way of economic thought, but the separate existence of two socio-economic systems that springs to light, and through both of wich people move. In this study the economic and social features are clo-

([3]) Baeck, L., *Economische Ontwikkeling en sociale struktuur in Belgisch Congo*, Leuven, Centrum voor Economische Studiën, 1959, 332 p., 300 FB.

sely integrated, and they explain each other; in this way, it is conducive to a policy which is as much socio-structural as economico-structural. It may be — but this is a matter for further research — that the existence of two separate socio-economic systems is due to two factors: the introduction of the industrial and commercial system from outside by colonizers, and its very recent and rapid introduction into a world which has not moved for centuries. If so, then neither the thesis nor the policy to be deduced from it, are valid in other situations. This proves how important it is for a general theory to start from a typology of situations, as Professor Henri Janne did in the previously mentioned study. The necessary research into the problem of how to divide responsibilities for the overall development process so as to achieve a balanced one, has yet to be made. It should be clear, however, that this can never be the responsability solely of colonizers or agents from outside; the recreating of social life is first of all a matter for the developing peoples themselves, and assistance in this field cannot go beyond that of advice.

Community Development

For this reason we shall now turn to Community Development. This, one may say, is a true movement in a sociological sense. It is an idea, a philosophy, that development should be in the hands of the people, depending on their insights and initiatives, in order to be really democratic and not disturb traditional values, and also in order to be efficient, because imposed change provokes resistance. As a movement it has its prophets, its apostles, its believers and its sympathizers; as such, it has also its unbelievers and persecutors. It has also its bible: the Twentieth Report of the Administrative Committee on Coordination to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations: *Community Development and Related Services* (Doc. E/2931).

Of course one should maintain a critical attitude towards such a movement, but it includes important elements of the

programme of distribution of responsibilities of the common good. The tasks of development are supposed to be not only in the hands of foreign or native experts, but also in those of the common people who are being assisted in creating new paths. The critic would first of all restrict the number of those tasks which are to be left to the people. They should be restricted to immediate basic needs and appropriate services, and to the aspect of social reconstruction, that is, creating new and suitable social structures for performing the new tasks in common, on the foundations of existing ones, e.g. handicraft organizations, co-operatives, health organizations, women's organizations, educational, health and child-welfare services. But nobody can expect these people to be able by their own efforts to carry out technical operations, develop school programmes or set up development banks.

Another criticism to be made is that this movement is sometimes looked on as a method of developing or improving existing communities. One should never forget that the programmes have, according to the international definition, to serve three purposes:

1) to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities;

2) to integrate these communities into the life of the nation;

3) to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.

The last two goals imply that the communities themselves are going to be changed structurally by the very process of development. The existing communities have to undergo an enlargement of scale and a functionalisation, which affect them internally.

We fear that these necessary changes due to the development process itself are not fully recognized by such British publications as *Community Development, a Handbook* ([4]) and T. R. Batten's *Communities and their Development* ([5]).

While bearing these criticisms in mind, one should recognize

([4]) *Community Development.* A handbook. London, H.M. Stationary Office. reprint 1960, 84 p., 4 sh.

([5]) BATTEN, T. R., *Communities and their development.* London, Oxford University Press, 1957, VIII-248 p.

the community development movement as one of the most important solutions of the problems involved in the integration of foreign aid with the self-responsibility of the assisted peoples, and of that of a realistic democracy in the developing countries. It seems more important to help them to establish a social development democracy than a political democracy in the western sense. Community development aims at stimulating the common people to do by their own efforts all that can be done by them, and making them ask for the technical assistance they feel to be needed.

The movement started in India and has been very active in that country. The Government of India, viz. The Programme Evaluating Organization of the Planning Commission, has published yearly since 1954 an extensive and critical *Evaluation Report on the working of Community Development and N.E.S. Blocks,* the latest covering 1958. There are excellent sources for the study of the successes and failures of this approach under the conditions prevailing in India. How the same principles can lead to a different programme, is to be seen in the book by Peter du Sautoy, *Community Development in Ghana* (6), where literacy campaigns and agrarian expansion are the backbone of the programme. In the policy in Ghana there seems to be more emphasis on guidance, stimulating the people's co-operation, than in India. There is no reason for preferring one programme to the other. All attention should be directed to their local effectiveness in accordance with the basic principles of the movement.

One special remark should be made. Every community development programme should be comprehensive. It has been the experience of all specialized agencies that no programme for directly improving the standards of the people is successful unless it is comprehensive. What name the programme bears, is of no importance. There is however always a tendency that where the programme has been called basic and adult education, one looks to educationalists for guidance; where it has been called extension work, one looks to agro-

(6) Sautoy, Peter du, *Community Development in Ghana,* London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1958.

nomists for guidance; where it has been called community organization, one chooses sociologists or social workers as advisers, where, for example, for women's work it is labelled home economics, one calls on home economics teachers for advice. But essentially, the comprehensive work should be guided by a team which must work exactly according to the rules of team work.

This is not to deny that a specialized programme cannot serve as a gateway into an overall process of change. Literacy campaigns, extension programmes and community centres have done so historically. It is of course of prime importance that a successfull programme or agency should be used as such a gateway into overall change. We ourselves should like to draw attention to what seems to us always to provide such an opening, and to break through a civilization of purely cyclical change within a fixed pattern. This is the education of girls in hygiene, home economics and agricultural working methods mainly because of their indirect influence on the dominantly male societies. A special study has been devoted recently to this subject by INCIDI (Institut International des Civilisations Différentes), *Le Rôle de la Femme dans le développement des pays tropicaux et sub-tropicaux* (7). One finds in this study a description of the present position of women and girls in nearly all the countries concerned. Also, the general reports on the legal, social, political and economic aspects confine themselves to the field of cultural anthropology. Little attention is paid to a policy of making women play a role in the process of development, or when this is mentioned, it is limited to their introduction into the ranks of industrial labour. But, to the present writer's mind, the indirect influence of the housewife on the altitude of the males towards economic, social, cultural and political changes is much greater. So the education of girls and women should be an indispensable part of any community development programme.

The U.N. Bureau of Economic and Social Affairs is vigorous-

(7) *Le Rôle de la femme dans le Développement des pays Tropicaux et Subtropicaux*. 31e Sess. d'Ét. de l'Inst. International des Civilisations Différentes, Bruxelles, 17-20 septembre, 1958, 540 p., 250 FB., 24,5 N.FF.

ly promoting the community development movement. In September, 1958, it organized a large African meeting on this subject in Addis Ababa, apparently to persuade the new African countries to apply it within their territories. The results have been published in the *Report on the Workshop of Community Development*, Addis Ababa (U.N. E/CN. 14/24, 1959). It seems very important to note that what was new in social policy in Europe after the war was the orientation towards the poorer areas of the world in an effort to bring them into balance with the most highly developed or over-developed regions (whereas social policy had formerly been orientated to their own lower classes). Thus the spatial dimension in social life was present from the very beginning in the social development of the newly developing countries. This makes it difficult to compare the social history of the period of western industrialization with what is going on in the new countries.

Finally, we draw attention to a publication of the U.N. Secretariate, ST/TAA/SER.D/27, of 8 May 1957, *Experiments in Training for Community Development,* in which are collected together the programmes of 17 various training centres for village-level workers, 6 training centres of women workers, 12 centres for local leaders, and 8 training courses for supervisory staff. We would add that for a good community development programme one also needs an in-service training programme for administrators, medical personnel and other specialized services in order to acquaint them with the social and psychological setting in which their own particular job has to be performed.

The Classical Social Problems

Under this heading we can only indicate a series of problems on the solution of which there exists little or no literature. These are in fact the problems which in the West have been raised by the progress of industrialization and have found their solutions in well-equipped agencies such as trade-unions,

commercial and agrarian co-operatives, and a whole system of social security and the conception of the welfare state which takes care that all that is done from an economic motive turns finally to the happiness of the individual citizen. Many of today's developing countries begin at the end, calling themselves welfare states and setting up a complete system of social security, whereas economically they have hardly reached the age of our Poor Law, and have 80 per cent or more of their population existing below the poverty line. On the other hand some very modern industries are built up and create wealth, but they also raise all the typically industrial social problems. Dealing with these problems by better housing, wages, educational facilities and protection has, however, a disastrous effect, attracting hundreds of thousands of underemployed landworkers to the industrial centres which cannot provide them with work.

Developing countries generally refuse to repeat the miserable social history of the West in the nineteenth century, but in fact no new way has been found in which the accumulation of capital for the economic and social substructure and for factories, social services and social legislation can be combined with the improvement of the positions of both employed and unemployed labour. Technical and financial assistance provide no adequate solution, so long as we do not know the right paths to take.

Research in this field seems to be hampered by many preconceptions. I shall give some examples. Trade unions have to be built up and assisted, as is said and done by the I.L.O. But soon there arise many complaints. The unions in these countries are much too political, they are often State pratronized, they are directed by middle-class intellectuals, and they are not as free as they ought to be. This is true, when compared with the West. However, I do not know of any study which analyses the functions which workers' unions must exercice in a situation of development in order to keep it balanced economically and socially, or a study which examines how these functions can be best fulfilled in different cultural and political settings. Is the western type of union always and

everywhere the best one ? Might not the guild system be a better solution ? Is there not too much dogmatism in our approach ?

Similar questions arise in the case of the co-operatives. In many countries the land-owning system is much more complicated than in ours. The rural social systems are firmly interwoven with it. These systems cannot be bypassed in building up and operating rural co-operatives. Enligthtened western ideas call for land reform and the abolition of landlords. But who is going to take care of the agrarian regions if landlords are abolished and there is not one to take over their responsibilities ? In many cases the second evil is greater than the first. It is not so easy to get castes or tribes to share their money among themselves or to hand it over to a co-operative ! But the idea of starting with paternally directed co-operatives will be rejected straightway because they will not be 'true' co-operatives in the western sense.

Social legislation is another such question. Labour protection and allowances have gradually been built up and given legal sanction in the West. Seemingly, this was done quite haphazardly according to the power of pressure groups and economic possibilities. Only after World War II did it grow up into a system. Here again the developing countries begin at the end. But there is no study avaible on the most desirable sequence for introducing social regulations, from a logical point of view, an economic point of view or a cultural point of view. No research has been done into the allocation of priorities in this field. I really do not know of any man in the whole world who could be asked to advise a government which wanted systematically to introduce social legislation during a planned process of industrialization; nor any man who could say definitely what must be postponed.

A final problem to be mentioned is that of creating new towns. We have many excellent studies on urbanization in the young countries. As a sample I may mention *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East* (8), Jacques Denis, *Le Phénomène*

(8) *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East,* Calcutta, 1957 (Unesco edit).

urbain en Afrique Centrale (⁹), and *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara* (¹⁰). They all however deal with a process which is already in operation, and at most they ask only for their policies to be applied there. The central problem, however, should be, whether new towns have not to be created by spreading clusters of industries throughout the country, if reasonably possible. This seems to be the most modern way to develop industry and agriculture simultaneously, and the only way to prevent overcrowding in a few big towns. Such a policy would be social in an eminent sense, as it would reconstruct social relationships for a future towards which the developing countries themselves are looking.

To conclude this brief report. I think that social justice, guiding social development, imposes a supreme responsibility on social scientists to apply their knowledge and imagination to developing a social know-how which can help developing countries. In this, the most important duty is to respect the native originality of the cultures of the countries concerned. Community development originated in these countries, and it is a wise approach, making the people themselves satisfy their own basic needs. An advance in industrial civilization, however, cannot be expected from these programmes. An adapted social policy for industrial civilization within old cultures has yet to be invented, and not much progress has been made so far.

(⁹) Denis, Jacques, *Le Phénomène Urbain en Afrique Centrale,* Bruxelles, Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 1958, 407 p., 500 FB.

(¹⁰) *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara,* Paris, Unesco, 1956, 27,50 N.FF, $ 11, 55 sh.

Book Reviews

Staatslexikon (Recht, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft), Freiburg i. Br., Herder, 6th ed., 4 vol., A-K, 7×10,5 in., 1957, 1246 col.; 1958, 1232 col.; 1959, 1232 col.; 1959, 1248 col., cloth 76 DM - lea. 85 DM each.

A monumental work of high standing, as is indeed explicitly guaranteed in the preface by the editorial body, the *Görres Gesellschaft*: 'The basic principle of the entire work is genuine scholarship'. The presentation of the work is equally excellent. Indeed, nothing less was to be expected of a publication of the House of Herder in Freiburg.

The names of the contributors, and the expressed object of the work, reveal that we are dealing with an encyclopedia that is entirely German in scope. The bibliography at the end of each chapter, often an extensive one, refers almost exclusively to German works. Only occasionally are works in English mentioned, and then the reference is, as a rule, to translations, whereas French books hardly receive a mention at all... Again, the biographical articles are mainly concerned with German authorities, so much so that it comes as a pleasant surprise to discover a fairly long one on John Huizinga, though one wonders why the choice fell on this Dutch historian in particular.

This brings up the question of what principle guided the selection of topics. The preface stipulates clearly that the articles were not all to be concerned solely with the State as such, and indeed, this sixth edition deals equally with legal, economic and social matters.

If it is true that the study of religion and history can be classified as social sciences, the way is of course open for the inclusion of cultural and religious subjects. In the first series we find, for instance, articles under the headings, *Bibliotheken, Bildende Kunst, Erziehung, Frau* (libraries, visual arts, education, woman)... In the second, under *Adventisten, Altkatholiken, Baptisten, Evangelische Kirche*... Here we must concede that the editors made a wise decision. Our main regret is that, in spite of the assurances given in the preface, some articles are not as explicit as they might be on the moral bearing of certain ideas and certain events, in fact this aspect is sometimes neglected altogether. Yet we had been assured that in articles likely to influence a reader's view on life, the Staatslexikon would draw special attention to the moral principles that belong to the Christian

tradition and to 'what Europe stands for'. Thus, for instance in the articles entitled *Aus- und Einwanderung* (emigration and immigration), *Entwicklungsländer* (countries in process of development), *Flüchtlige und Vertriebene* (refugees and displaced persons), *Frieden* peace), *Kolonien* (colonies)... the moral implications are not touched upon at all. While some contributions comment extremely soundly on the criteria and the demands of morality, it is hard to understand why they do not all do so. In this connection we would like to draw special attention to the outstanding treament of this aspect of the subject in the aricles on *Bevölkerungspolitik* (population policies), *Demokratie, Kommunismus,* etc. It might further be alledged that the length of certain articles is out of proportion to their importance, for instance *Dialektischer Materialismus, Gerechtigkeit* (justice), *Kolonien.* But we need to remember that these subjects receive further treatment in other places.

In general, we must admit that the editors have done their work extremely well, quantitatively and qualitatively. There are outstandingly good articles on *Ehe und Familie* (marriage and family), *Katholische Soziallehre* (Catholic Social Doctrine), *Kirche und Staat* (Church and State), as well as many others.

Further praiseworthy contributions are those dealing with living actualities, denoting how closely the editors have followed the trend of events in recent years. These include articles on *Entnazifizierung* (denazification), *Juniaufstand* (the June rising), *Koexistenz...*

In conclusion, the Staatslexikon constitutes not only one of the best encyclopedias of our day, but also one of the most up-to-date.

L. Lauwers

Landshut, Siegfried, Gaebler, Wolfgang - *Politisches Wörterbuch* Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für Gemeinwirtsch. Hamburg, Tübingen, Mohr, (Siebeck) 1959, in-8, 5×75 in., 265 p.; DM 13.60.

This dictionary gives in succinct but substantial form the meaning of all expressions employed in diplomacy, international law, the press and parliamentary life.

The brevity of the explanations — which precludes any mention of their authors — is corrected to a great extent by numerous cross-references.

The 1250 terms are dealt with in such a way as to yield a body of

co-ordinated ideas free from any partisan spirit. Words relating to the errors of the last war (anti-semitism, fascism, concentration camps, etc.) are also explained objectively and without mincing matters.

The book may be easily consulted by all, even those who are not specialists in the matter. All German language readers will find in it a rapid and reliable source of information.

A.Verdoodt

Political Handbook of the World, Parliaments, Parties and Press as of Jan. 1, 1959. W. H. Mallory ed., New York, Harper and Brothers, (London, Oxford U.P.) for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1959, in-8, 240 p., 35 sh.

For more than a quarter of a century this political handbook of the world, which is brought up to date on 1 January each year, has been supplying essential information on public life in all countries, with the exception of colonies and trusteeship territories.

It gives the composition of governments and parliaments, the programmes of political events, a list of the most influential newspapers and periodicals with an indication of their ideological slant, the name of the editor, and often their circulation. Since 1946, the United Nations Organization, with the names of its senior officials, its component bodies and the specialized agencies attached to it, have been added.

Although certain figures concerning the circulation of newspapers — difficult to verify in any case — are open to dispute, there can be only praise for the general objectivity of the work. It is in fact presented by the Council on Foreign Relations, which is a scientific foundation with the object of studying international aspects of the policy, economy and strategy of the United States, and which does not permit itself to profess any opinion on American public life.

This impartial documentary material thus constitutes a reliable guide to present international happenings.

A.Verdoodt

Bodamer, Joachim - *Der Mensch ohne Ich*. Freiburg, Herder, (Herder-Bücherei Band 21) 1959, 2nd. ed., 4×7 in., 138 p.

The author is a psychiatrist and a philosopher in one and he describes the disease of our century: man on the point of losing his self, his soul and his personality.

With an objectivity free of all extremist views, he diagnoses the growing pressure of information media, publicity, machines and noise. The physical and, especially, the psychical unbalance produced by these is hidden by the abuse both of tranquilizers and stimulants. But genuine health is becoming ever rarer and the psychiatrist is now an indispensable social institution.

Basically, man has become afraid of entering into himself. By expelling the feeling for God, he had lost his true value, which is to make himself worthy of Him whose image he is. This is particularly characteristic of old age ,and the whole of Chapter VI deals with this crisis of the autumn of life, which is no longer a period of serene plenitude and voluntary disengagement from one's achievements, such as the greater average length of life today would permit.

After having revealed the terrifying emptiness of so many mentally ill people, Dr. J. Bodamer proposes his treatment, which varies according to cases but can be fairly well summed up in Pascal's words: «All the misery of man arises from the fact that he is incapable of remaining still in his room».

On the threshold of the mental hygiene year, this little book could well serve as a manual.

A. Verdoodt

DUNCAN, A. R. C., *Practical Reason and Morality*. A study of Kant's Foundations for the Metaphysics of Morals. Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1957, 6×9 in., 182 pp. 18 sh.

It has always been admitted that Kant's work, *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* (Foundations for the Metaphysics of Morals) was intended to introduce a new ethic, which to many people appears to be incomprehensible. It is in order to combat the currently held opinion that the work is a moral treatise, that Professor Duncan has produced this critical study of it. He proposes certain directives to enable us to read and understand Kant's work as its author intended: that is, as a foundation for a metaphysical approach to morality, representing a standpoint which Kant took up after finishing his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Critique of Pure Reason).

Professor Duncan's work falls into three distinct parts. First, he examines the current interpretation of Kant's book, regarding it as an ethical doctrine, or else as a new form of his philosophy of freedom. All existing views are studied and compared, and finally,

using historical date and quotations, he proves that Kant's intention was indeed to propose a *metaphysics* of morals.

In the second, considerably longer, part of his book, the author expounds his own interpretation of the *Grundlegung*, based on Kantian texts. He scrutinizes and compares texts and ideas with conscientious thoroughness.

In the third part, he concentrates on a particular problem, that of Section II, sub-section C, of the *Grundlegung*. He concludes that Kant's intention was to adopt the most exalted moral principle as criterion and guide for the conduct of our actions.

According to the 'Ethical Interpretations', Kant really had wanted to write a moral treatise, but the author demonstrates that in spite of the phrase, 'most exalted moral principle', Section II is only to be taken as an interlude, that is to say, a mere transition from the general moral philosophy to a true metaphysics of morals.

There could be no better analysis of Kant's great work than this. Even if we do not always agree with the author, his book remains one of the best introductions to the 'Foundations for the Metaphysics of Morals'.

M. J. Hendrickx

THOMAS, John L., S.J., *Marriage and Rhythm*, London, Sands and Co., 1957, 5,5×8,5 in., 136 p., 7/6 sh.

This book has a special value for all interested in social justice for the world. The problems of the underdeveloped countries and what Mr. Aldhous Huxley has called the central problem of our time — overpopulation — form a major part of the concern of those who are occupied with the development of an international social ethic.

The duty of giving aid to less favoured countries is a cardinal point in this emerging ethic. But the Stanford and Draper Reports in America, the McDougall Lecture of Professor Toynbee to F.A.O. last November and the controversy over the candidature of Senator Kennedy have underlined the fact that many who believe most firmly in giving such aid, at the same time strongly hold that such assistance must be accompanied by a definite population control policy.

It must be admitted even by those who do not share this conviction — regarding such a policy as impracticable or undesirable — that a good case can be made out for at least temporary family limitation as a population remedy in certain population 'black spots' of the world.

It is unfortunate that many who believe this, believe also that it must be achieved by contraceptive birth control and they look to the so-called «contraceptive» pill as a panacea.

The impression is sometimes obtained that the Catholic Church because she opposes contraception is the big enemy of progress in this matter, that she believes in an «ungoverned spate of unwanted births» and that she is therefore condemning inhumanely millions of people in underdeveloped countries to an intensification of the poverty, discontent and economic disorganisation which rapid population growth often brings in its train.

This excellent book of Father Thomas explains the Catholic position and will help to dispel misconceptions with regard to the Church's attitude to family limitation and the only methods which the Church regards as permissible. It will give to many inside the Church, and, I venture to think, to most outside the Church, for the first time, a complete framework of the whole position of the Church on sex and marriage, on which hangs catholic approval of the rhythm method and its authoritative and eminently reasonable exposé of the teaching of the Church with regard to periodic continence within the violent objection to artifical contraception.

This service is especially valuable, as many people of good will have been unable fully to see the distinctions which the Church makes and have been forced to conclude erroneously that the Church is hypocritical in allowing «Catholic» birth control and rigorously opposing other forms.

There are others, especially since Dr. Abraham Stone's abortive pilot scheme to introduce the 'safe period' method into India and the failure of the Indian Health Ministry in the early part of the last decade to introduce this method (with the consequence that Mr Nehru agreed to a contraceptive birth control campaign as a population measure), who think that this method has been tried and found wanting and are inclined to hold that the only thing that is certain about the 'safe period' is that it is not safe.

Father Thomas' objective assessment of the method, his clear indications of when and how it can be used will put such views in perspective. So far it has not been given an extended trial under the best auspices and with complete co-operation as part of a population policy. The real possibilities of rhythm are underlined by Father Thomas' considered judgment that, taking into account all its limitations and all the exceptions to its use, 'the discovery of fairly reliable means of predicting the fertile and infertile periods of the menstrual

cycle offers the possibility of exercising considerable control over conception. Although there is much that remains to be discovered, we now possess sufficient knowledge to be able to regulate reproduction in many cases'.

It was suggested to the U.S. Senate Foreign Committee that more money and research should be devoted to perfecting an oral contraceptive as a concomitant of foreign aid. Much remains to be done before such a 'contraceptive pill' could be used generally with efficiency and safety. Some gynaecologists think that it will be very difficult to guarantee freedom from harmful long-term effects of such a radical interference with nature that the working of such a pill involves without a very long period of testing. Would it not be better then to concentrate rather on the rhythm method which Father Thomas shows to be so promising? Dr. Abraham Stone himself said that if a means of making the 'safe period' method really safe and simple were discovered this method would supersede all others. Dr. Doyle of Boston and others are working on precisely this aspect especially with a view to finding some simple test to pinpoint ovulation time, which would achieve the end which Dr. Stone indicated.

In this way a 'split down the middle' in giving aid to underdeveloped countries would be avoided. If a policy of contraceptive birth control is insisted on, it will bring harmful divisions, as it will go against the views of the over 30 million Catholics in the United States and of 527 million throughout the world and it will be alien also to the traditions and culture of Moslems and Hindus. It may well be that this book of Father Thomas will have a decisive effect in assuring co-operation between all who want to see the needs of the underdeveloped countries relieved in the best ways possible.

A. McCormack

SUENENS, Msgr. L.-J., *Amour et Maitrise de Soi*, Bruges, Desclée de Brouwer, 1959, 5×8 in., 230 p., 62 FB.

The Anglo-Saxon world, the Scandinavian countries and large sectors of France, Germany and Belgium are already living in the 'civilization of contraception', as Stanislas de Lestapis has called a society which is committed to the widespread acceptance of artificial birth control. The baneful effects on religion and on human values, which

such a civilization is responsible for are visible in the lessened respect for the sanctity of the marriage contract, easier and more extensive divorce, increasing immorality made the more insidious by the doctrines of those who regard moral values as fluctuating and of no absolute validity.

The achievement of Msgr. Suenens, Auxiliary Bishop of Malines, in this book is to provide for those who must live in this atmosphere but who do not wish to be tainted by its religious, moral and practical bases for the preservation or restoration of these values, valid for Catholics and indeed for all who respect the Christian *ethos* and heritage. Its special importance derives from the distinction and authority of the author as well as from the courage, originality of thought and forceful progressiveness of ideas, allied to wide practical experience. This progressiveness is never that of an *avant-garde* theologian striving after effect, but of a thinker whose theories are tested by, indeed have arisen from, close acquaintance with the realities of life and by an unaffected scholarship which is orthodox, but not afraid to examine new approaches in order to help souls to live a more Christian life in the complex circumstances of twentieth century civilization.

This work is (and was intended to be) a natural sequel to Bishop Suenens' «*L'Église en État de Mission*» (*The Gospel to Every Creature*). The fundamental solution which Msgr. Suenens offers is a return to the true meaning of the word *love*. His analysis of the real and false significations attached to this word is clinical in its exactness but so informed with religious spirit and a profound understanding of human nature and human needs that it never loses its warmth. The necessity of education for the individual in the practice of true love is stressed theoretically and in a practical appeal to all concerned with the instruction of those who undertake the vocation of Christian marriage.

This work will reach many outside the fold of Bishop Suenens' Church and will shed great light for them on Catholic attitudes to moral problems not always easy for those who are not Catholics fully to understand. For example, it will show them that the Catholic opposition to contraception, in any form, is not based on mere high-flown theory or abstruse and irrelevant reasoning but is a fundamental outcome of the Catholic attitude to marriage, and, indeed, to life itself.

Msgr. Suenens makes but a brief reference to population problems, which are not his theme. Yet mucy of what he says is relevant to them for 'whether doctrinal or theoretical, all questions concerning human population converge on a doctrine of marriage and its human authen-

ticity' (J. Vialatoux). His whole argument shows why artificial contraception cannot be regarded as a population remedy precisely because it would be just as immoral to foist unworthy means and dubious values on developing countries as to countenance them in our own society.

For Catholics this is a splendid book with passages of brilliance and genius. Even the conservative who may feel slightly apprehensive of the Bishop's straight speaking on problems too often hidden by the vagueness of flowery euphemisms, will, I feel, be disarmed by the transparent sincerity of his deep concern for human beings redeemed by Christ, which has caused him to speak out.

A. McCormack

ROLLET, Henri - *Le travail, les ouvriers et l'Église* (Collection: «Je sais - je crois» n° 103) Paris, A. Fayard, 1959, 6×7,5 in., 127 p., 350 FF.

This little volume describes clearly the most recent status of the question. The author, who is an historian of the social action of Catholics in France, doubtless draws mainly on what he knows best, viz. the situation in his country. But the essence of the book is really of universal value. Thus, the first chapter deals with the place of work in God's plan: participation in creation, fulfilment of the person and co-redemption. A short chapter describes how these seminal ideas entered history in the era of slavery, of the barbarian invasions, of serfdom, of the corporations and of the beginnings of colonialism (for instance, the Christian Communist Republic of the Guaranis in Paraguay).

Pending a theology of modern work, chapter III gives a Christian angle on the values, non-values and incomplete values of work in the machine age, when «too often matter comes out of the factory ennobled, but the soul of the worker degraded» (Pius XI).

Chapter IV studies the social doctrine of the Church since Rerum novarum (1891). The distinction is fairly well drawn between the statement of principles, their various possibilities of implementation, and the internal dynamism which forces them to develop continuously. Hence the present idea, in the matter of contribution of capital, of a ratio to be established beween the risk and the share in profits, this ratio being fairly high in the initial stages of the enterprise and then tending to diminish.

As regards the participation of workers in management and, a for-

tiori, nationalization, the author seems to lay the emphasis mainly on the warnings uttered by the Popes .

The final chapter on the Church at work in the machine age is an excellent description of the action of social Catholics and the most recent pastoral endeavours in France, tinged wih a certain severity towards the «Mouvement Populaire des Familles», the Abbé Godin and the worker-priests. In the excellent bibliography we are surprised to find that the classical works of C. Van Gestel, which have been translated into so many languages, are notable by their absence.

A.Verdoodt

ROUCEK, J. S. (edit.), *Contemporary Sociology,* New York, Philosophical Library, 1958, 6,5×9 in., 1209 pages, $ 12.00.

This extensive work is remarkable in several respects. First, on account of the vast erudition behind it; all the various branches of sociology are represented: criminology, political sociology, demography, semantics and anthropology; there are articles on community, institutions, social organizations, ecology, sociometry, and some of these chapters give masterly accounts, at once concise and full, of a specific branch of sociology, as for example 'Family Sociology' by Carle C. Zimmermann (pp. 87-109), 'Historical Sociology' by H. E. Barnes (pp. 238-269), 'Public Opinion and Propaganda' by J. B. Ford (pp. 624-641). But some of the other chapters are disappointing, including the one on 'Social Psychology' by R. M. Frumkin (pp. 269-285), which does little more than list a number of questions and authors, not attempting to give a true idea of the very considerable amount of work that is being done in this field.

The work includes surveys of problems not normally dealt with in text-books and these have great actuality, treating as they do the more controversial topics of the present day, as in 'Sociology and American Catholics, by Paul Mundy (pp. 304-320); 'Sociology and Social Work' by Ph. M. Smith (pp. 583-600); 'Military Sociology' by Paul Walter Jr. (pp. 655-672); 'Sociological Aspects of Psychological Warfare' by R. C. Sorensen (pp. 673-695).

A second feature that lends special interest to this work is the expressed intention to give a world-wide picture of sociology. However, though it is entitled *Contemporary Sociology,* the work is in fact mainly confined to America. There is of course nothing surprising about this, seeing that it was published in the United States and is in great part a product of American scholarship. And in practice this is

not an important point, so long as the title of any given chapter makes it clear that it is only dealing with certain well-defined contemporary trends in so far as they are to be observed in the United States.

But it is regrettable that in Part III, where the claim is explicitly made that a world-survey is to be given of certain aspects of applied sociology, only American references are cited. This results in a distorted view of the facts. A particular instance is the treatment of the sociology of religion, which has made far greater advances in Europe than in America (pp. 539-566). The publishers sought to restore the balance by incorporating in this volume a fourth section devoted to sociological movements outside the U.S.A., and some of these latter chapters are very well done, for instance the ones on France, Benelux, Germany and Italy. Others, such as the one on England, are less successful.

Three special chapters are devoted by the Editor himself to the sociology of Russia and of the satellite states. It is significant that here the word *sociology* has to be put in inverted commas. These chapters are a real scholarly product revealing honesty and integrity of intention, and as such deserving to be taken seriously and valued highly. They have a commendably inclusive bibliography .

Yet another positive factor is the method of approach, the standpoint from which psychological phenomena are viewed. There are indeed two possibilities where sociology is concerned: either to take it as a positive science, or as a branch of philosophy. The whole of Carle C. Zimmermann's Introduction is a plea in favour of the second approach. The principle protagonists of this school of thought are Spengler, Toynbee, and Sorokin, though only the latter is a sociologist in the true sense. P. A. Sorokin himself contributes some 'Critical Comments' at the end of the work (pp. 1127-1176) and has published a book of his own entitled *Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology and related Sciences* (1956); from both sources we learn that he is opposed to any attempt to classify sociology among the natural sciences.

If the moral sciences were more clearly differentiated from the natural sciences, a great many erroneous ideas could be put right, but Zimmermann really only adds to the confusion by calling the first approach 'neopositivistic empiricism', for it is a fact that a considerable number of supporters of the second approach are passionate positivists: Durkheim and his school, the old German school (in contrast to the new one, referred to by König, p. 795), Dupréel, Haesaert, etc. The logical consequences are clear. But Zimmermann is honest enough to admit that the majority of sociologists champion the first approach (p. 12, p. 19). To conclude, we have here a work rich in

ideas, easy to handle, and so useful that it soon becomes indispensable.

L. Lauwers

BOWLES, Chester, *Afrika's uitdaging aan Amerika*. Tsrl. Jan H. de Groot (Africas' challenge to America). Introd. Thomas K. Finletter. 's Gravenhage, Boekencentrum N.V., 1958, 5,5×8 in., 175 p., *f* 6.

This work is based on a series of lectures delivered by the author to the University of California in March 1956, his intention being to give the American public an objective account of the challenge Africa presents to America.

Chester Bowles was Ambassador to India from 1947 to 1951, after which he travelled all over the African continent. Thus, in his first chapter, he is in a position to confront his readers with a series of depositions refuting the reference works obtainable in the American Congress Library and written in London, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon.

In his second chapter he describes the disturbing dimensions of the African challenge; disturbing, mainly because the United States urgently need the raw materials of Africa, and also because of stakes in the Cold War. In another chapter he studies the response of the colonial powers to the challenge: he holds them to be increasingly unjust, in proportion to the number of Europeans who have taken root in African territories (South Africa, Algeria, Kenya).

With some show of feeling he invokes the memory of Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson and Roosevelt, refers to biblical ideology, and mentions that one American out of ten has an African ancestor.

In a final chapter he draws up a plan for American aid in support of political emancipation in Africa, including measures to establish or maintain racial equality, and to develop the economic welfare of autochtonous peoples: a factor the Whites all too often overlook in their quest for quick returns.

The author strongly opposed the 1953 military agreement between the United States and Pakistan. As early as 1947, he was proposing that his country should invest, through the United Nations, in a programme of desinterested economic aid to underdeveloped countries. These are grounds for holding that the translation into a continental language of this work of an American humanist is amply justified, even if it is somewhat out of date by now.

A. Verdoodt

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